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MALLARMÉ'S EDENS—I*

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THE title and subjects of this study were inspired by a more accessible Eden: a delightful region in the north of Italy where I rambled in the summer of 1958 with my friend Mario Muner, of Cremona, a professor of Latin who is also a distinguished worker in the field of Symbolism. The ideas that follow are my own; but the mood out of which they grew was due to the stimulus of our long conversations in districts pleasantly haunted, here and there, by the memory of Virgil and Catullus.

I use the term 'Edens' to denote four worlds of the spirit that Mallarmé endeavoured to substitute for the banality of terrestrial existence: namely, an ideal love, beyond the hazards and the storms of passion; an exquisite subtlety of expression, enriched by correspondences; a poetic absolute, and a world of genius luminous enough to outshine the materiality of the cosmos.

These four Edens are, of course, neither successive nor mutually exclusive: they belong to all periods of the poet's career, and are sometimes intermingled within a single poem. None of them was ever fully attained, but Mallarmé spent his life seeking for them, and sacrificed to this search all the things to which most people attach importance, such as position, comfort, prestige and simple human happiness. He was doomed to frustration, but this frustration was so glorious that, paradoxically, it was itself an Eden of perfection, a negative but imperishable Absolute.

* Sections III (*Hérodiane and a Poetic Absolute*) and IV (*Towards the Grand Oeuvre*) will be published in our next issue.—ED.

I. ANIMA

All those who have studied Mallarmé's biography know the affectionate solicitude that marked his relations with Madame Mallarmé and his daughter, Geneviève. True, he did not consider these relations incompatible with others, away from home, such as his affection for Méry Laurent (Marie-Rose Louviot). But whatever deviations there may have been from the line of orthodox conjugal fidelity, there is something very moving in the story of Stéphane Mallarmé and the young German girl, Maria Christina Gerhard, whom he met in 1862, while she was a lady companion in the household of the Libert des Presles family at Sens, and whom he married on the 10th of August, 1863.

And yet, on the rare occasions when Madame Mallarmé figures in his serious poems (the *Vers de circonstance* can be left out of the question), there is no trace of passion, even in the qualified sense that we have to give to this word when we are concerned with such an elusive and sylph-like creature ('Moi, sylphe de ce froid plafond') as Mallarmé. And his poetry is the one place where a poet reveals his most intimate secrets.

Let us begin with the early prose-poem, *Frisson d'hiver*, written at Tournon in 1864. It must have been composed at the time when Madame Mallarmé was awaiting the birth of her child, so that we might well expect to find in it a youthful fervour of anticipation. But actually it is pervaded by a spirit of gentle melancholy, and there is an emphasis on all that is old and worn in the young couple's home. Nor is this spirit induced by straitened circumstances (although, of course, Mallarmé was anything but affluent). On the contrary, the poet enjoys this atmosphere of many yesterdays, with its old 'pendule de Saxe'; a Venetian mirror whose frame is adorned with 'guivres dédorées'; a chest which 'encore est très vieux'; faded curtains and hangings; 'anciennes gravures' on the walls—in short, 'toutes nos vieilleries'. For his comment is: 'Tu aimes tout cela et voilà pourquoi je puis vivre auprès de toi'.

Truly a strange atmosphere. There is affection in all this, but no trace of love's young passion. Moreover, Mallarmé lets slip a phrase which shows that his mood is not shared fully by his wife; or that, at any rate, the two are not dreaming the same dream. For after asking Madame Mallarmé to close her ancient German almanach so that he can talk to her 'pendant des heures' of this old furniture, he asks gently, though not without melancholy: 'Tu es distraite?' This cannot but remind us (although the two men were so different, and Mallarmé was not one who ever demanded attention) of Victor Hugo's imperious 'Tu dors, Adèle?' when he

thought his wife was not sufficiently attentive to one of his monologues. It reminds us also of Mallarmé's melancholy remark in *Surgi de la croupe et du bond*:

Je crois bien que deux bouches n'ont
Bu, ni son amant ni ma mère,
Jamais à la même Chimère.

There is, then, in *Frisson d'hiver*, not communion, but a rather sad dreaming apart. Add to this the threefold reference to the cobwebs in the room (they suggest neglect, loneliness), and the significance of the title, and everything points to solitude in the midst of affection, rather than to an Eden illuminated by the dazzling presence of Eve.

In *Soupir*, which belongs to the same period (it was written in April, 1864, that is to say only eight months after Mallarmé's marriage), there is a similar wistfulness—and the 'calme sœur' to whom these lines are addressed is no doubt his wife.

We come next to *Don du poème*, written at Tournon late in 1865, that is to say, when Mallarmé's daughter Geneviève was not quite one year old:

Je t'apporte l'enfant d'une nuit d'Idumée!
Noire, à l'aile saignante et pâle, déplumée.
Par le verre brûlé d'aromates et d'or,
Par les carreaux glacés, hélas! mornes encor,
L'aurore se jeta sur la lampe angélique.
Palmes! et quand elle a montré cette relique
A ce père essayant un sourire ennemi,
La solitude bleue et stérile a frémi.
O la berceuse, avec ta fille et l'innocence
De vos pieds froids, accueille une horrible naissance:
Et ta voix rappelant viole et clavecin,
Avec le doigt fané presseras-tu le sein
Par qui coule en blancheur sibylline la femme
Pour les lèvres que l'air du vierge azur affame?

Though the question is not relevant to the present discussion, I begin by pointing out that the 'poème' to which the title refers can hardly be *Hérodjade*, as Charles Mauron and others have supposed. It is true that a first draft of *Hérodjade* had been written in 1864; but this was *only* a first draft, so that Mallarmé would not here have been making *Don du poème* a dedication for the longer piece. Moreover, *Don du poème* originally had quite a different title, *Le Jour*, which made it independent and self-sufficient.

None the less, there are certain common features in the imagery

of the two poems. But this is not surprising, for both came out of the same background; out of the *veillées* of 1864 and 1865, and possibly out of Mallarmé's investigations of the Cabbala and the hermaphrodite kings of Idumea. Consequently it is quite natural that he should call the shorter piece 'l'enfant d'une nuit d'Idumée, *Hérodiane* being the child of many Idumean nights.

But let us return to our study of the relations between Mallarmé and his wife. Geneviève, as I have already said, was not quite a year old, and apparently it was not very long since she had been weaned. Hence the three concluding lines of *Don du poème*. Like the pre-Adamites of Idumea (I go thus far, but no further, with the argument in Denis Saurat's 'La Nuit d'Idumée, *N.R.F.*, 1-12-1931), Mallarmé imagines himself as having brought forth a child also; something that appears horrible, unnatural and monstrous when the cold light of day falls on it, after the long night-watch during which it had been born; and he appeals to his wife to suckle it, to make it human. The idea is not unusual. We find a similar concept in *Une dentelle s'abolit*, where Mallarmé writes:

Vers quelque fenêtre
Selon nul ventre que le sien,
Filial on aurait pu naître

(notice that the window figures in both poems). And long before him, Montaigne had argued that a man's book is his child, more truly than the children that a woman has given him.

He asks his wife, then, if she will nurture this starveling for him. But what intrigues me most, at the beginning of this request, is the curious invocation:

O la berceuse, avec ta fille et l'innocence
De vos pieds froids . . .

Why 'innocence' and why 'froids'? I can find a satisfying explanation only by assuming that whereas, in their innocence, his wife and child found home a sufficient Eden, he had been wandering in strange places of the spirit, leaving them, though they were unaware of it, cold and neglected. And I fancy that this hypothesis is strengthened by the association between cold and neglect in the *Coup de dés*, where the enigmatical constellation (which we shall be examining later) is 'froide d'oubli et de désuétude'.

In *Don du poème*, then, as in *Frisson d'hiver*, there is a singular lack of conjugal passion. The poet is again living in a world of his own, dreaming of an Eden (or a pre-Eden) inaccessible to his family.

Another poem in which Mallarmé specifically refers to his wife

(perhaps he is thinking of her in *Apparition*, but there is considerable doubt about this) is *Eventail* (*de Madame Mallarmé*). It is full of tenderness, but once more this tenderness is melancholy. The poem seems to have been written towards 1891, when he had been married for a little more than 27 years. He and his wife are both growing older. And though there is no grey in Madame Mallarmé's hair, he is aware, as he looks at the mirror behind her, of 'un peu d'invisible cendre', closely and anxiously watched ('purchassée').

Cet éventail si c'est lui
Le même par qui derrière
Toi quelque miroir a lui

Limpide (où va redescendre
Purchassée en chaque grain
Un peu d'invisible cendre
Seule à me rendre chagrin).

The image is characteristically subtle: he does not even see his wife's head in the mirror; he sees only the gleam in it that is caused by the movement of her fan. But thereafter he will always be watching in those limpid mirror-depths for the melancholy signs of her life's autumn. And so once more his imagination is wandering in a world other than hers, a world where the invisible becomes a haunting phantom.

For whom, then, was Mallarmé's secret passion reserved, assuming that it existed, in however subtle a form, in this curious lover? Certainly not for Méry Laurent, or for the woman or women who inspired such sonnets as *La chevelure vol d'une flamme*. Possibly the most passionate of these sonnets is:

O si chère de loin et proche et blanche, si
Délicieusement toi, Mary, que je songe
A quelque baume rare émané par mensonge
Sur aucun bouquetier de cristal obscurci

Le sais-tu, oui! pour moi voici des ans, voici
Toujours que ton sourire éblouissant prolonge
La même rose avec son bel été qui plonge
Dans autrefois et puis dans le futur aussi.

Mon cœur qui dans les nuits parfois cherche à s'entendre
Ou de quel dernier mot t'appeler le plus tendre
S'exalte en celui rien que chuchoté de sœur

N'était, très grand trésor et tête si petite,
Que tu m'enseignes bien toute une autre douceur
Tout bas par le baiser seul dans tes cheveux dite.

This was addressed, at a time unknown, to Méry Laurent, and was not published till 1908. On the surface, it seems that in the final tercet he is subordinating his dreamy tenderness to something much more passionate. But the arrangement of the two tercets is misleading. The second appears to have pride of place, suggesting that passion always has the last word. And yet, is there not a shadow of regret in this? Despite the irresistible appeal of her beauty, sensuality is tempered by the 'S'exalte' which is placed so emphatically at the beginning of line 11. Whatever his passion may do, his *heart*, his secret self, is exalted when he thinks of her as situated in a world beyond sensuality. There is passion in this, if you will, but it is not the all-consuming passion of a Tristram or a Lancelot.

And then, there is the substitution of 'Mary' for 'Méry'. I cannot refrain from thinking that there is more than mere philological playfulness in this; that somehow, when he evokes the tenderness of the word 'sœur', his heart is in England. And that is a question that presently I shall discuss at greater length.

Another sonnet, *Quelle soie aux baumes de temps*, written in Paris early in 1885, is even more misleading:

Quelle soie aux baumes de temps
Où la Chimère s'exténue
Vaut la torse et native nue
Que, hors de ton miroir, tu tends!

Les trous de drapeaux méditants
S'exaltent dans notre avenue:
Moi, j'ai ta chevelure nue
Pour enfouir mes yeux contents.

Non! La bouche ne sera sûre
De rien goûter à sa morsure,
S'il ne fait, ton princier amant.

Dans la considérable touffe
Expirer, comme un diamant,
Le cri des Gloires qu'il étouffe.

As I have discussed this sonnet elsewhere,* I shall not here consider it exegetically. It is enough, for the moment, to say that

* AUMLA 12, November 1959, p. 17.

some commentators have taken it to be a departure from Mallarmé's ordinary procedure, as if here, for once, he were subordinating art to passion. But the emphatic 'Non!' so placed in the structure that it separates the quatrains from the tercets, suggests something quite different. It is equivalent to 'No, that would be too high a price to pay for sensual delight!' And the poet goes on to say that sensual enjoyment would not be complete ('La bouche ne sera sûre . . .') unless, like some prodigal prince squandering diamonds on a woman, he were prepared to stifle the cry of 'les Gloires'—art, idealism, genius. It is a restatement of what Mallarmé had said much earlier in *Le pitre châtié*.

Such reservations in the domain of passion are illustrated in many other poems, notably in *Mes bouquins refermés*, where a woman's breast, as the intimate light from the fireplace falls on it, sets him dreaming of something far away: the burnt breast of an Amazon, lost in the mythological past. But further quotations would tend to interrupt the present argument, which is that Mallarmé, if he had any all-consuming love, did not centre it on his wife or indeed on any living woman.

Whom, then, did he love with an enduring devotion so intimate and so touching that he revealed it only little by little, by fugitive suggestions and evocative phrases?

Many men, perhaps even most men, have such a secret love, sometimes almost without knowing it; love for a woman who does not exist in the flesh—an idea beautifully set out in Verlaine's *Mon rêve familier*. She is Anima, a hidden part of one's own mind; a tender second self that sweetens the loneliness of Animus; a Sleeping Beauty whom no kiss can ever waken, for her sleep is death, a non-existence that yet exists to haunt a mind for ever.

Sometimes this ideal woman, whom most men, for their own comfort, identify with a living person, is associated with a girl seen in one's years of innocence and idealised by the imagination of youth. The most notable example of this is Beatrice, whom Dante saw when she was little more than a child; and that one glimpse transformed his whole life: it was Beatrice, not Virgil, Anima, not Animus, that led him through his Paradise.

I am strongly inclined to think that Mallarmé's Beatrice, the 'correspondence' of his Anima, was the mysterious Harriet, the young American whom he had known when he was a boy, and from whom he was a little later doubly separated by her departure for England, and by the difference of their two worlds. And then came the irrevocable separation: she died in England while still a child.

With all due respect, I believe that that great Mallarmist, Henri

Mondor (or his collaborator), passes over a most important point when, in the notes on Mallarmé's juvenile poem, *Sa fosse est fermée*, he sees little real inspiration in these boyish verses. He writes: 'Le début de la seconde partie'—the first part was the other juvenile poem, *Sa fosse est creusée*—'ne serait-il qu'une imitation d'un poème anglais? Nous trouvons-nous là devant une simple amplification scolaire?' In the same note, however, he tells us that 'il s'agit, semble-t-il, d'une jeune étrangère, une Américaine morte en Angleterre, et . . . les relations du jeune Mallarmé, pensionnaire au lycée de Sens, devaient être alors peu nombreuses, et peu cosmopolites, étant donné le milieu de sa famille'.

It is true that *Sa fosse est fermée* is full of echoes and imitations from Hugo and other Romantics, even perhaps from André Chénier. But the absence of Harriet in England, the differences of milieu between the two young people, are the classical conditions for the building up of an Anima-image, as we know from Dante's case. The boy's mind has nothing left except a dream; but it is a dream that lasts. How long it lasts is illustrated by the fact that in one of the most mature and self-revealing of his poems, *Prose pour des Esseintes*, there is more than one echo of this juvenile and imitative elegy.

Thus, in the letter attributed to Harriet at the beginning of *Sa fosse est fermée*, she speaks of the simple and incantatory beauty of the flowers in her garden, among the trees:

'A notre maison blanche, où chante l'hirondelle,
Dans un bois verdoyant, vous viendrez,' disait-elle.
'Nous cueillerons les fleurs que cachent les grands blés.
Le soleil qui les dore a fait mes pieds ailés,
Et le soir, au foyer où chaque cœur s'épanche,
Nous ferons pour ma mère une couronne blanche . . .'

And have not these flowers, isolated by 'les grands blés' and by the trees, a singular affinity with the irises in *Prose*?

Telles, immenses, que chacune
Ordinairement se para
D'un lucide contour, lacune,
Qui des jardins la sépara.

Further on in his juvenile elegy, Mallarmé writes:

Un nom! sur un cercueil où je ne puis pleurer!
Un nom! qu'effaceront le temps et le lierre!
Un nom! couvert de pleurs, demain la poussière
Et tout est dit.

Mallarmé's Edens

Oh! non, doit-on donc l'oublier?
Qui sut se faire aimer ne meurt pas tout entier!

Et, mort en son cercueil, on revit dans les cœurs!

And, despite all those exclamation-marks and the banality of many of the phrases, if we add to these lines the words in Harriet's letter: 'que cachent les grands blés', is it not possible to foresee here the magnificent lines that later transform this young regret into incomparable poetry, where 'on revit dans les cœurs' is enlarged by the Byzantine penumbra of 'Anastase'?

Elle dit le mot: Anastase!
Né pour d'éternels parchemins,
Avant qu'un sépulcre ne rie
Sous aucun climat, son aïeul,
De porter ce nom: Pulchérie!
Caché par le trop grand glaïeul.

Moreover, it may well be that this early poem gives us at last the key to the mystery of 'aucun climat, son aïeul'. As Harriet was an American, her 'ancestral climate' was England, where she was destined to be buried.

The differences are, of course, immense. The early poem is a clumsy outpouring of grief in a medium which is not yet mastered and which is, therefore, imitative and artificial. The other is to a large extent the *ars poetica* of a most scrupulous craftsman. None the less, *Prose* is dominated by regret for a childish happiness that had been all too brief; and it is also, like *Sa fosse est fermée*, an elegy for the one who shared this happiness.

Mallarmé also regrets, in *Prose*, his inability to recapture, in his sophisticated maturity, the splendid magnifications of youthful vision. And he finds a baffling incompatibility between 'la science' and his inner spirituality:

Car j'installe, par la science,
L'hymne des cœurs spirituels
En l'œuvre de ma patience,
Atlas, herbiers et rituels.

He is like a botanist wishing that his pressed flowers were still alive, a priest yearning for the reality of the spirit beyond the stylised beauty of his ritual. And the further he goes in 'l'œuvre de sa patience', the more impossible it seems to capture the lost dream, to find his lost Anima. Ideas had taken the place of intuitions, in the same way as botanical classifications usurp the place of living blooms:

Gloire du long désir, Idées
Tout en moi s'exaltait de voir
La famille des iridées
Surgir à ce nouveau devoir,

he had said even in those youthful days; but Anima had known better:

Mais cette sœur sensée et tendre
Ne porta son regard plus loin
Que sourire . . .

Eden, the lost Eden, was simplicity; and the further he goes, the greater his artistic and intellectual sophistication becomes, and he listens, in spite of himself, to those who say

Que ce pays n'exista pas.

The very name of his Anima, which is Beauty (Pulchérie), is obscured, with all its cherished blossoms, by the 'trop grand glaïeul', by the abstract Lily that has replaced her lilies, the flowers of happy innocence.

There is, I think, one prose reference to this lost Eden, a reference hidden by the general argument of the context. It is in *Hamlet (Crayonné au théâtre)*: 'L'adolescent évanoui de nous aux commencements de la vie et qui hantera les esprits hauts ou pensifs par le deuil qu'il se plaît à porter, je le reconnais, qui se débat sous le mal d'apparaître: parce qu'Hamlet extériorise, sur des planches, ce personnage unique d'une tragédie intime et occulte'.

I have referred, above, to a *lost* Eden. But the expression is not quite exact. Though the original Eve had vanished, Anima remained, making Mallarmé's interior world an Eden of the spirit alone. And that is what gives so many of his poems (*Apparition*, *Petit Air II*, *Prose*, to quote only a few) a haunting human wistfulness: a charm which is not dependent upon the fascinating subtlety of his technique, though it is enhanced by it.

Mallarmé has himself given us a singularly beautiful demonstration of how Anima and art, love's melancholy Eden and the claims of craftsmanship, can be reconciled and transformed into pure beauty. It is in *Las de l'amer repos* (1864). There is a wealth of self-revelation, with echoes of the lost love that haunted him for ever, and even some echoes from *Sa fosse est fermée*, in the phrases which I take the somewhat sacrilegious liberty of italicising in this text:

Las de l'amer repos où ma paresse offense
Une gloire pour qui jadis j'ai fui l'enfance

Adorable des bois de roses sous l'azur
Naturel, et plus las sept fois du pacte dur
De creuser par veillée une fosse nouvelle
Dans le terrain avare et froid de ma cervelle.
Fossoyeur sans pitié pour la stérilité,
—Que dire à *cette Aurore*, ô Rêves, *visité*
Par les roses, quand, peur de ses roses livides,
Le vaste cimetière unira les trous vides?—
Je veux délaïsser l'Art vorace d'un pays
Cruel, et, souriant aux reproches vieillis
Que me font mes amis, le passé, le génie,
Et ma lampe qui sait pourtant mon agonie,
Imiter le Chinois au cœur limpide et fin
De qui l'extase pure est de peindre la fin
Sur ses tasses de neige à la lune ravie
D'une bizarre fleur qui parfume sa vie
Transparente, la fleur qu'il a sentie, enfant,
Au filigrane bleu de l'âme se greffant.
Et, la mort telle avec le seul rêve du sage.
Serein, je vais choisir *un jeune paysage*
Que je peindrais encor sur les tasses, distrait.
Une ligne d'azur mince et pâle serait
Un lac, parmi le ciel de porcelaine nue,
Un clair croissant perdu par une blanche nue
Trempe sa corne calme en la glace des eaux,
Non loin de trois grands cils d'émeraude, roseaux.

II. WORDS AND CORRESPONDENCES

Perhaps the most fruitful of Mallarmé's *Edens*, though still a melancholy one, is that of an art based on correspondences; for thanks to it he transforms the poetic image, giving it a power of expansion that goes far beyond the comparatively elementary correspondences enumerated by Baudelaire in his famous sonnet.

I call this part of his work an Eden, because it is an attempt to establish, as far as that is humanly possible, a perfection of art as a substitute for the imperfections of terrestrial reality; an attempt to replace 'l'exil inutile' by a paradise of verbal and melodic beauty. He seeks a perfection of words well placed, each with a periphery of mystery, acting on its neighbours and receiving something from them; a perfection of correspondences fringing both melodies and ideas; a melodious emanation coming forth softly,

like an aroma, from the verbal felicity of his versification. What I have just said might almost be a paraphrase of his own statement in *Crise de vers*: 'L'œuvre pure implique la disparition élocutoire du poète, qui cède l'initiative aux mots, par le heurt de leur inégalité mobilisés; ils s'allument de reflets réciproques comme une virtuelle traînée de feux sur des pierreries, remplaçant la respiration perceptible en l'ancien souffle lyrique ou la direction personnelle enthousiaste de la phrase'.

In its simplest form, a correspondence is an exemplification of Platonic idealism. Every object or phenomenon corresponds to a perfect archetype, an eternal Idea. A tree is the lower term of the Idea evoked by the generic word Tree. The universe is the lower term of the Idea that manifested itself in the act of Creation, as Satan says (reproachfully) in Valéry's *Ebauche d'un serpent*:

Dieu lui-même a rompu l'obstacle
De sa parfaite éternité;
Il se fit Celui qui dissipe.
En conséquences, son Principe,
En étoiles, son unité.

It follows that every object or phenomenon corresponds to every other phenomenon or object, since all are manifestations of the same primal unity. Thus the simplest thing can have innumerable extensions or analogies; so too can the word that represents it.

As far as Mallarmé's Art-Eden is concerned, the theory of correspondence is metaphysical only in that it postulates a primal unity, a timeless perfection. It is above all, for him, a poetic method rather than a metaphysic; a poetic method enabling him to attain that power of magnification which children have—he regrets this lost vision of childhood in *Prose pour des Esseintes*, as we have seen—and to transform the simplest object into an incantation. Think how simple his starting-point is in some of his finest poems: a fan (the three *Eventails*); a woman's hair (*La chevelure vol d'une flamme, Quelle soie aux baumes de temps, O si chère de loin et proche*); a dark and apparently empty room (*Ses purs ongles*); a polished occasional table (*Tout Orgueil fume-t-il*). But in each case he associates the object with several others, builds with analogies a world of his own, which is not perfection, but which suggests perfection because it has set so many correspondences moving towards the primal unity which is their source. And in this process of enlargement by analogy he sometimes brings in, as further correspondences, echoes of his other Eden, that lost yet ever-enduring world of Anima which I have discussed in the preceding section.

A simple (but not easy) poem which illustrates this very beautifully is *Autre Eventail*, written towards 1884, where the five quatrains correspond to the five panels of the fan itself, as Albert Thibaudet remarked in *La poésie de Stéphane Mallarmé* (a useful and important book, spoilt only by its undue insistence on Mallarmé's so-called preciousity).

O rêveuse, pour que je plonge
Au pur délice sans chemin,
Sache, par un subtil mensonge,
Garder mon aile dans ta main.

Une fraîcheur de crépuscule
Te vient à chaque battement
Dont le coup prisonnier recule
L'horizon délicatement.

Vertige! voici que frissonne
L'espace comme un grand baiser
Qui, fou de naître pour personne,
Ne peut jaillir ni s'apaiser.

Sens-tu le paradis farouche
Ainsi qu'un rire enseveli
Se couler du coin de ta bouche
Au fond de l'unanime pli!

Le sceptre des rivages roses
Stagnants sur les soirs d'or, ce l'est.
Ce blanc vol fermé que tu poses
Contre le feu d'un bracelet.

The fan which his daughter is here supposed to be swinging carries his thoughts very far, into the ideal, but without his having to move through space or ideation ('sans chemin'). I am inclined to think that there is, in the opening quatrain, an additional correspondence, suggested by 'Garder mon aile dans ta main'. It could be a reminder to himself that, although his Anima-Eden, like his Art-Eden, is always calling him, simple affection must always keep him bound to his family.

The next correspondence is evolved in stanza 2: the simple movement of the fan is extended into a wider movement; for ideally, any movement sets space moving. And so the horizon is delicately widened by each little oscillation; widened so far that the cooling effect of Geneviève's fanning herself emanates from the dusk which is still to come—a good instance of the peripheral correspondences of a word, the word being in this case 'crépuscule'.

This space-correspondence becomes, in stanza 3, a stepping-stone to a more cosmic widening: the whole of space begins to quiver, as if the fan were moving it. And as it is a girl of twenty, lost in a day-dream, who is causing this vibration, quivering space seems to be a kiss; a kiss that can neither cease while the fan is moving, nor become real.

In its turn, this cosmic correspondence comes back to a more human level. A cosmic Idea of love has been evoked, which now becomes the shy Eden of a dreaming girl. And the uncertain smile on her face, corresponding to the smile of space, seems to illumine the surface of the fan, on which she sees

. . . rivages roses
Stagnants sur les soirs d'or.

With regard to this picture on the fan, it is interesting to recall that on the fan on which Mallarmé inscribed his third fan-poem, for Méry Laurent, some years later, there were roses on a golden background. Possibly Geneviève's fan was similar, its surface depicting or suggesting rosy shores on a background of sunset. But perhaps the 'landscape' is only an Eden of dreams, seen as the girl looks at her fan.

In the final stanza, the sceptre is apparently the correspondence or analogue of the closed fan, now held against the man-made bracelet on the girl's wrist. Why 'sceptre'? Perhaps because thought held in check, like the closed fan, has power and authority over dreams; power to give them stable form by transforming them into art. As for 'pli unanime', I take it to mean the five panels or folds of the fan, which become one single panel when it is opened. At the same time (such is the richness of Mallarmé's correspondences), there is a suggestion of unanimity between Geneviève's mind and what she sees on the fan.

In all this, we surely have an Eden of art; an Eden in which there is a shadow, of course, for Mallarmé never goes beyond his human limitations. The perfection of the eternal is suggested by that unrealised cosmic kiss; but the dream is limited, the fan closes, and only mastery remains, a sceptre to rule the eager impulses of the imagination and keep the artist on his human plane. There is no better example of Mallarmé's classical restraint, so different from the exuberance of the Romantics. Space is widened by a moving fan, narrowed by its closing, and is not allowed to become a lasting magnification of the ego, as Hugo often imagines it to be. It is kept within the compass of a human concept, and thus remains, as in *Quand l'ombre menaça*,

'A soi pareil qu'il s'accroisse ou se nie'—a strictly objective view.

Sainte, although it belongs to an early period in Mallarmé's career, is another poem that illustrates admirably his mastery of correspondences and of many-faceted words:

A la fenêtre recélant
Le santal vieux qui se dédore
De sa viole étincelant
Jadis avec flûte ou mandore.

Est la Sainte pâle, étalant
Le livre vieux qui se déplie
Du Magnificat ruisselant
Jadis selon vêpre et complie:

A ce vitrage d'ostensoir
Que frôle une harpe par l'Ange
Formée avec son vol du soir
Pour la délicate phalange

Du doigt que, sans le vieux santal
Ni le vieux livre, elle balance
Sur le plumage instrumental,
Musicienne du silence.

The earliest draft seems to have been written in December, 1865, and its title explicitly identifies the saint as the patron of music, Saint Cecilia. One of the variants in this early draft is of great importance, for it shows that the sun's rays, forming the strings of the harp, are not seen from inside the church; they stop short at the window:

Sainte à vitrage d'ostensoir
Pour clore la harpe par l'ange
Offerte. . .

The dominant correspondence in *Sainte* is between the inner, spiritual and human world inside a church, and the cosmic event, sunset, that is taking place outside. Seen from within, the window's staining shows Saint Cecilia surrounded by the instruments of her choir, and with the music of the Magnificat open before her. She has one finger raised as she conducts her pious concert. Exactly at the mid-point of the poem begins a second world of music: the rays of the sun, stretched out as far as it sets, form the strings of a cosmic harp.

On this background, Mallarmé carefully sets out the details of correspondence between the two worlds. The 'santal vieux qui se dédore' corresponds to the fading sun. Then comes a series of further analogies between the instruments that formerly glittered,

when the window-painting was new, and the sun that still shines, but will presently fade into the night; between the music that once streamed ('ruisselant') from the score of the Magnificat, and the unheard music now streaming from the magnificence of sunset. Notice also that 'le santal vieux' and 'le livre vieux' are echoed by means of chiasmus in the second part of the poem: 'le vieux livre' and 'le vieux santal'.

The two worlds of silent music are bound together by the phrase 'vitrage d'ostensoir': the window is flooded with light like the spiritual light that streams from a monstrance. And the two images of the sun's rays seen as the wing of the Angel of Sunset and as the strings of a harp are bound together by the phrase 'plumage instrumental'.

In the final line the saint with her finger poised on the solar harpstrings is a 'musicienne du silence', just as she had been in the first half of the poem, where music was represented not as sound, but as a picture. The whole poem is thus a correspondence, in the form of what Gautier calls, in his little-known *Musée secret*, 'une transposition d'art': sound is sight, and all sensations are one.

There are further correspondences, outside this poem, but still related to it by the inner unity of Mallarmé's work, in many pieces where music is considered as a pure perfection that lies beyond the sound of instruments. Consider, for example, in the *Hommage* to Wagner, the contrast between the 'clartés maîtresses', which are the pure sources of music, and the 'souriant fracas originel', which is *particular* music conceived within an individual mind:

Du souriant fracas originel haï
 Entre elles de clartés maîtresses a jailli

 Le dieu Richard Wagner.

(In this context, 'haï', I assume, simply means 'shunned', as in *L'Après-midi d'un Faune*: 'A ce massif, haï par l'ombrage frivole')

I class *Sainte* as an 'Eden' poem, because in it all details are reconciled one with another, as, in Eden, there was no hostility between living things; and further, because it is an image of perfection. Not perfection itself, but an eloquent suggestion of it, under a veil of cunning words—'Sotto il velame degli versi strani', as Dante puts it.

In *Ses purs ongles* we find still another masterly demonstration of correspondences:

Ses purs ongles très haut dédiant leur onyx,
 L'Angoisse, ce minuit, soutient, lampadophore,

Maint rêve vespéral brûlé par le Phénix
Que ne recueille pas de cinéraire amphore

Sur les crédences, au salon vide: nul ptyx,
Aboli bibelot d'inanité sonore,
(Car le Maître est allé puiser des pleurs aux styx
Avec ce seul objet dont le Néant s'honore).

Mais proche la croisée au nord vacante, un or
Agonise selon peut-être le décor
Des licornes ruant du feu contre une nixe,

Elle, défunte nue en le miroir, encor
Que, dans l'oubli fermé par le cadre, se fixe
De scintillations sitôt le septuor.

It was first written in 1868, in a form very different from that of the definitive text published in 1887. This first draft had a title which indicated the poet's desire to achieve a maximum of correspondences, for it was called 'Sonnet allégorique de lui-même'.

In *Ses purs ongles* there are many correspondences of sound as well as of imagery. Thus, the feminine rhymes in *-ixe* softly echo the masculine rhymes in *-ix*, and the masculines in *-or* form echoes for the feminines in *-ore*. And there is even a philological echo in the 'onyx' of the opening line, for in Greek this word means 'finger-nail'.

In addition, there is a wealth of imagery-correspondences, as in *Sainte*. Thus the imaginary lamp held up by Anguish corresponds to the elusive gleaming of a gilded mirror-frame, whose ornamentation represents unicorns pursuing a water-nymph. But unicorns and nymph are invisible, manifested only by an evanescent flicker, just as Anguish's lamp, suggested by the glint of her up-thrust nails, consists of yesterday's dreams, dissipated by a new day ('Phénix').

Again, as in *Sainte*, there is a correspondence between an interior and an exterior, but this time both are dark: a room without light, a sky whose stars are invisible until seven of them are reflected in the mirror. (These stars are a second correspondence for the lamp of Anguish). In the room, the only 'sound' is an absence, an 'Aboli bibelot d'inanité sonore'; in the sky, the only 'sound' is the silent music of the stars (music is suggested by the term 'septuor'). And these stars, *emerging* from the darkness, correspond, by a sort of conceptual chiasmus, to the golden cloud of the nymph's hair ('défunte nue'), *disappearing* in the depths of the darkened mirror.

Again, there is a correspondence between the absence of an urn

to hold the ashes of yesterday's dreams, and the absence (caused by darkness) of a mirror to hold the image of the nymph. 'Oubli' links the two terms of this subtle correspondence: dreams are forgotten when a new day comes, the nymph is forgotten in the darkness.

This poetic art of Mallarmé's, which strives towards perfection, is not, of course, confined to correspondences in the Baudelairean sense of the term. It includes a mastery of words. For Mallarmé, the word is a living thing, and like all living things it has many different aspects, according to mood, moment and context. It is, to use a handy French term, *chatoyant*.

There is a fascinating example of this in the *Tombeau de Charles Baudelaire* (1893), in the second quatrain:

Ou que le gaz récent torde la mèche louche
Essuyeuse on le sait des opprobres subis
Il allume hagard un immortel pubis
Dont le vol selon le réverbère découche.

I take 'recent' to mean 'recently lit'. When the street-lamp is lit, it reveals a multitude of sordid miseries; and in its light one sees the wretched practitioner of a profession as old as humanity and therefore practically immortal: the prostitute ('un immortel pubis'). As the light flickers and the shadows change, she, like a fluttering moth, disappears at times ('Dont le vol. . . découche'). So much for the picture present to the eyes of the observer. But the last line has another and still more tragic connotation: poor Phryne is condemned always to sleep away from home ('découche'), in the innumerable *hôtels meublés* that are the purveyors to her trade; her life is a *flight* from one sordid room to another, and these flights take place 'selon le réverbère', according to the clients that she picks up under the gaslight.

There is, in the second tercet, a further correspondence to this terrible line. Just as the prostitute disappears at intervals according to the flickering of the lamp, so also she emerges and disappears in the darkness that makes her Baudelaire's very shadow:

Au voile qui la ceint absente avec frissons
Celle son Ombre même. . .

In another *Tombeau*, that of Edgar Poe (1876), there is a subtle but striking example of Mallarmé's word-mastery, in the famous quatrain where the angel gives a 'purer sense' to the words of the vulgar herd:

Eux, comme un vil sursaut d'hydre oyant jadis l'ange
Donner un sens plus pur aux mots de la tribu. . .

In the first of these two lines, Mallarmé imitates the angel: he gives the words a character so unusual that many a Frenchman, hearing (not reading) the two lines for the first time, would almost certainly fail to take in the sense of 'd'hydre oyant jadis l'ange'. He might even be tempted, I imagine, to wonder if there is such a verb as 'hydroyer' in his native language. And probably Mallarmé, a little maliciously, anticipates this: the multitude does not *see* the angel's words written, it only hears them ('hydre oyant. . . l'ange'). Perhaps also he is tilting at those critics who accuse Poe of achieving too many sound-effects at the expense of poetry (I confess that I join the multitude here, despite my admiration for most of Mallarmé's literary judgments).

A further example of the double-faceted phrase is furnished by the second quatrain of the Verlaine *Tombeau*, published in January, 1897, and therefore written, no doubt, towards the end of 1896:

Ici presque toujours si le ramier roucoule
Cet immatériel deuil opprime de maints
Nubiles plis l'astre mûri des lendemains
Dont un scintillement argentera la foule.

'Ici' refers to the cemetery where Verlaine is buried. 'Immatériel deuil' is the mournful cooing of the wood-pigeons, as they call to each other; it sounds like a lament for the neighbouring dead. Actually, it is a mating-call: hence 'nubiles' (Latin *nubilus*, marriageable); but these veils of sound seem to be wrapped around the memory of Verlaine (and *most* other writers: '*presque toujours*'), reminding us that he is dead, and his poetry with him. They are apparent obstacles to his future fame: 'l'astre mûri des lendemains'. And this misunderstanding, which confuses a love-call with a hopeless lament, is symbolised by the double meaning of 'nubiles'. For this adjective can be related both to *nubilus* and to *nubilus* in Latin; and *nubilus* means 'cloudy' or 'cloud-bringing'. The cry of the pigeons clouds the glory of Verlaine, and at the same time echoes the wistfulness of his love-lyrics.

I have remarked earlier that in Mallarmé's Eden of verbal perfectionism there is a shadow. And to a considerable extent it is the shadow of the Tree of Knowledge. He is conscious of it, and at times speaks ironically, or with regret, of his own word-method, which is a tyranny of the intellect exercised over his poetic intuitions. Thus in the *Hommage* to Wagner, realising that the composer has escaped the imperfections of life and the cramping requirements of technique, to become a god, he refers almost contemptuously to his own efforts to attain self-expression through

method. 'Let us put all that aside', he says, 'and think only of pure poetry and of the real Eden to which Wagner has been translated':

Notre si vieil ébat, triomphal du grimoire,
Hiéroglyphes dont s'exalte le millier
A propager de l'aile un frisson familial!
Enfouissez-le-moi plutôt dans une armoire.

These lines echo the opening stanza of *Prose pour des Esseintes*, with actual repetition of the words 'triomphal(ement)' and 'grimoire':

Hyperbole! de ma mémoire
Triomphalement ne sais-tu
Te lever, aujourd'hui grimoire. . .

And that is, as I have said in my opening section, one of the principal motifs of *Prose*. The latter is almost an *ars poetica* that repudiates its own methods; almost a confession that words, however skilfully used, and the intellectual structures built with words, cannot recapture the ideal, the perfection of Eden. That iron-bound 'grimoire', in which the purity of Eden is imprisoned, is very like the ice in 'Le vierge, le vivace', the glacier imprisoning the 'vols qui n'ont pas fui'. The real flights have never flown, and can never fly, even with the help of winged words.

And it is this sombre realisation, recurring in poems of both his earlier and his mature period, that leads Mallarmé to his third Eden. But we must remember that 'leads' cannot be allowed to have a chronological connotation. His various Edens are contemporaneous; abiding facets of his genius and sensibility.

SOME PROBLEMS OF TERMINOLOGY IN THE ANALYSIS OF THE STREAM OF CONSCIOUSNESS NOVEL

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IN the literature that has grown up round the technique of the novels of Dorothy Richardson, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and other authors to whose work the term 'stream of consciousness' is usually applied, there is a remarkable lack of uniformity in terminology. Scholars frequently use different terms to describe the same device, or, worse still, use the same term to describe different devices.

In the four major American studies of the last ten years, a number of disparities emerge. L. E. Bowling¹ talks of 'the stream of consciousness technique' and sees as its two main devices 'interior monologue' and 'internal analysis'. Robert Humphrey² rejects 'the stream of consciousness technique' but admits 'the stream of consciousness novel' and sees as its two main devices 'direct interior monologue' and 'indirect interior monologue', to which he adds the additional devices of 'omniscient description' and 'soliloquy'. M. J. Friedman³ simply takes over the terminology of Bowling and Humphrey but claims that 'internal analysis' (Bowling) is different from 'indirect interior monologue' (Humphrey).⁴ As Friedman gives no examples to illustrate his terms, the difference remains obscure. Leon Edel,⁵ who seldom comes to grips with basic problems of technique, uses the term 'internal monologue', equates it with 'stream of consciousness' and applies it on p. 84 to a monologue in the first person and on p. 108 to monologues in the third person.

In German the confusion is at least as great as in English. A recent study by K. R. Meyer bears the title *Zur erlebten Rede (The Interior Monologue) im englischen Roman des 20. Jahrhunderts*,⁶ thus clearly equating 'erlebte Rede' and 'interior monologue'. It is then rather puzzling to find in the body of the work a statement to the effect that it is absolutely necessary to distinguish between 'Bewusstseinsstrom' or 'innerer Monolog' on the one hand and 'erlebte Rede' on the other.⁷ So eminent a scholar as Gerhard Storz⁸ equates 'erlebte Rede' and 'le monologue intérieur', while the equally eminent Wolfgang Kayser⁹ points out that the stream of consciousness may be represented by *either* 'innerer Monolog' or 'erlebte Rede'.

Even in French, in which language the term 'interior monologue' first appeared, some confusion exists. For example, the famous study by Dujardin¹⁰ distinguishes between 'le monologue intérieur' and 'le monologue intérieur indirect' but does not take account of 'le style indirect libre', which term had already been coined to describe the device that Dujardin calls 'le monologue intérieur indirect'.

Those who have sought to bring together the English, German and French terms have not added greatly to the clarity of the picture. Warren and Wellek¹¹ call 'stream of consciousness' the 'loose, indirect correspondent' for 'erlebte Rede', 'le style indirect libre' and 'le monologue intérieur'. M. J. Friedman says that critics in English prefer the term 'stream of consciousness' and in French the term 'interior monologue', whilst the Germans use 'erlebte Rede', which term is 'much closer to "monologue intérieur" than to "stream of consciousness"'.¹²

In practice most of this confusion has arisen from loose use of the general term 'stream of consciousness' and from uncertainty about the exact nature of, and the differences between, two of the main techniques of the stream of consciousness novel. In what follows I shall first examine the term 'stream of consciousness' and then list the six methods of representation that may be employed in the stream of consciousness novel, at the same time showing that four of the six methods give rise to no grave terminological problems but that the remaining two—'erlebte Rede' and 'interior monologue'—have given rise to endless confusion.

The term 'stream of consciousness' is in many ways a misnomer, since Joyce and some of the other stream of consciousness novelists are obviously more concerned with 'the stream of pre-consciousness' than with the stream of consciousness, which suggests something rational, shaped and ordered. However, the term is too well established to be displaced or altered now. It was unfortunate that 'stream of consciousness', although coined by William James about the turn of the century, became fashionable in English and American criticism at about the same time as the term 'le monologue intérieur' emerged in French¹³: i.e. in the early 1920s. Both terms seem to have been used more or less indiscriminately. At first Dorothy Richardson, for example, objected strongly to the term 'stream of consciousness' but claimed that its 'transatlantic equivalent,' the term 'interior monologue', was not quite as objectionable¹⁴ (If 'stream of consciousness' ever was an English term and 'interior monologue' an American term, the distinction has long

since disappeared.) Some scholars, such as Leon Edel, still equate the two terms, but it seems fairly generally accepted nowadays that 'stream of consciousness' refers to the subject-matter of a certain type of novel, while 'interior monologue' is *one* of the methods of presenting this subject-matter. In the classification of novels according to subject-matter, 'the stream of consciousness novel' has become an accepted category. On the other hand the term 'the interior monologue novel', although a quite legitimate category in a classification based on methods of representation, is of very rare occurrence, simply because there are extraordinarily few novels that are entirely in interior monologue.

The procedure of Robert Humphrey in this connection has a great deal to recommend it. He uses 'stream of consciousness' as a general term to describe '... novels which have as their essential subject-matter the consciousness of one or more characters; that is the depicted consciousness serves as a screen on which the material in these novels is presented'.¹⁵ Consequently he admits 'the stream of consciousness novel' but rejects 'the stream of consciousness technique', since a number of techniques are involved. It may be assumed that Humphrey also admits 'stream of consciousness' in reference to subject-matter-uses such as: 'In this novel the stream of consciousness of the principal character is represented.'

In German no generally accepted equivalent of 'stream of consciousness novel' has emerged. 'Stream of consciousness' in reference to subject-matter is expressed quite normally by 'Strom des Bewusstseins' or 'Bewusstseinsstrom'. ('Der Strom des Bewusstseins in einer erdichten Gestalt wird darstellbar durch den inneren Monolog . . .'¹⁶) However, neither term lends itself to attributive use and one does not say 'ein Roman des Bewusstseinsstroms', though such a term would be comprehensible. Some attempts have been made to express the idea in a slightly different way: thus K. R. Meyer uses 'Bewusstseinskunst' as a general term for 'the stream of consciousness novel'; which still leaves the problem of 'a stream of consciousness novel'. The explanation of this lack of German terms may well be that, although there are German novels that represent the stream of consciousness and use the techniques of the English novelists, there is no group of novelists that correspond to, or go as far as, Dorothy Richardson, James Joyce and Virginia Woolf, all of whom followed obviously related aims and techniques. The stream of consciousness novel in Germany is a much more isolated phenomenon and no need has been felt to express an idea such as 'the German stream of consciousness novel'. When German scholars use the English term, as they

frequently do, they are usually referring to the English or American novel.

In French the situation is much the same as in German and probably for much the same reason. 'Stream of consciousness' in relation to subject-matter is expressed by 'le courant de la conscience', but the term does not lend itself to attributive use. 'A stream of consciousness novel' may be rendered by a paraphrase such as 'un roman du type courant de la conscience', but there seems to be no standard phrase.

When we come to consider the terminology relating to the techniques of the stream of consciousness novel, it is helpful to begin by listing the possible methods of representation available to the author who seeks to represent the stream of consciousness. Merely the listing of them will, of course, introduce problems of terminology.

- 1 Direct speech.
- 2 Indirect speech
- 3 Unspoken direct speech ('fingierte direkte Rede').
- 4 Authorial report.
- 5 'Erlebte Rede.'
- 6 Interior monologue.

1 and 2 are well established concepts and need no explanation. They can never be a major part of the representation of the stream of consciousness, since the author of this type of novel must necessarily go deeper than articulate speech.

In 3 the term 'fingierte direkte Rede' seems to have been coined by O. Funke¹⁷ to describe the technique of presenting as direct speech words that are not actually spoken. For example:

'At intervals a misgiving shot like a thin flying needle through the solid satisfaction of his sensations: *'She is a strange and incalculable woman—why am I doing this?'* Shot, and was gone, almost before perceived!'¹⁸

Sustained examples of unspoken direct speech appear to be what Humphrey means by 'soliloquy'. They are in the first person like interior monologue but are much more articulate and coherent than interior monologue.

In 4 some problems of terminology may arise. Humphrey, for example, uses the term 'omniscient description', and other designations occur. However, these problems are rarely grave, since it is almost always clear that the critic is talking of the

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report in the third person by the omniscient author: the author who describes from his vantage-point what happens around, to and inside his characters. It is the oldest and most widely used method of representation in all narrative.

The real confusion of terminology in the analysis of the techniques of the stream of consciousness novel has arisen in connection with 5 and 6. Neither of these devices is invented by the stream of consciousness novelists, but both are used far more frequently and extensively by them than by any previous novelists. They warrant detailed consideration.

Erlebte Rede

The phenomenon consists in reporting speech or thought in a form intermediate between direct and indirect discourse. It lacks the basic characteristics of direct discourse in that the first person is not used and no quotation marks are employed: it lacks the basic characteristics of indirect discourse in that it is not prefaced by 'he said', 'he thought', 'he felt', etc., may not follow the tense sequence of indirect discourse and—in German—uses the indicative instead of the subjunctive. From another point of view, the narrator is, as Wolfgang Kayser puts it, both there and not there: everything in 'erlebte Rede' is seen from the perspective of the character, but the use of the third person suggests a report by the omniscient author. Examples are legion in the modern novel and short story. The following example is from Dorothy Richardson.

The first four sentences (down to 'originality') are authorial report. The remainder is 'erlebte Rede'. Moving between authorial report, 'erlebte Rede', and sometimes unspoken direct speech and interior monologue is characteristic of the stream of consciousness novel.

Sitting there dully listening she began to have a sort of insight into the way these jests were made. It was a thing that could be cultivated. Her tired brain experimented. Certain things she heard she knew she would remember; she felt she would repeat them with an air of originality. They would seem very brilliant in any of her circles—though the girls did that sort of thing rather well; but in a less 'refined' way; that was true! This was the sort of thing the girls did; only their way was not half so clever . . . if she did, every one would wonder what was the matter with her: and she would not be able to keep it up, without a great deal of practice; and it would keep out something else . . . but perhaps for some people there was something

in it; it was their way. It had always been Alma's way, a little. Only now she did it better. . .¹⁹

This device is found frequently from the period of Naturalism on, but examples can also be found from the much more remote past. Fehr²⁰ quotes examples in English from as far back as Scott's *Guy Mannerling*, and Wilpert claims that there are examples even in Latin literature. The device is analysed and classified by French and German scholars in the decade after 1912, following the publication of an article by Charles Bally, who coined the term 'le style indirect libre'. There was a considerable controversy about a suitable German designation, but eventually, in 1921, E. Lorck²⁰ coined the term 'erlebte Rede', which, though often attacked as inadequate and misleading, has maintained itself.

In English the earliest analysis and classification of 'erlebte Rede' with which I am familiar was by G. O. Curme,²¹ who used the unwieldy designation 'Independent form of indirect discourse'. After Curme there seems to have been very little discussion of 'erlebte Rede' in English, and certainly no term emerged for it. Lubbock, in his chapter on Flaubert in *The Craft of Fiction*, seems constantly to be talking about 'erlebte Rede' but without defining it closely or designating it. Jespersen²² was one who did describe the phenomenon and invent a term for it. He called it 'represented speech', a translation of his own suggested German designation 'vorgestellte Rede'. Neither Jespersen's English nor his German term has achieved any currency, though A. A. Mendilow has revived 'represented speech'.²³

In view of this lack of adequate analysis and classification of 'erlebte Rede' in English, it was no wonder that its designation should have been a major source of confusion in studies of the stream of consciousness novel. As was mentioned at the beginning, Edel appears to subsume both 'erlebte Rede' and 'interior monologue' under the term 'internal monologue'; Bowling calls 'erlebte Rede' 'internal analysis', Humphrey 'indirect interior monologue' and Friedman both 'internal analysis' and 'indirect interior monologue'.

In the context of the stream of consciousness novel the happiest designation is to my mind Humphrey's 'indirect interior monologue', which is obviously a translation of Dujardin's 'le monologue intérieur indirect'. However, this designation is applicable to sustained passages of 'erlebte Rede' rather than to the phenomenon as a whole. 'Erlebte Rede' quite frequently occurs as a single short sentence. As a general designation only Jespersen's 'represented speech' seems to be available. Until such time as an accepted

English term emerges, it is obviously a great aid to clarity if the English scholar who discusses the phenomenon indicates in some way that he is writing about 'erlebte Rede' or 'le style indirect libre'.

In German it is surprising to find that some confusion of terminology exists despite the fact that 'erlebte Rede' is a meaningful and generally understood concept. As was shown above, 'erlebte Rede' is equated by some scholars with 'interior monologue' or 'le monologue intérieur'. However, the problem is not as grave in practice as the titles of the works by Meyer and Storz might suggest. Of recent scholars only Gerhard Storz perpetuates the identification of 'erlebte Rede' with 'innerer Monolog'. Despite the confusing title of his book, Meyer makes it quite clear that he differentiates between the two. Wolfgang Kayser is quite emphatic that 'erlebte Rede' and 'innerer Monolog' are two different things. Wilpert's entry under 'innerer Monolog'²⁴ defines clearly the difference between the two. There can, then, be no doubt that most German scholars consistently use 'erlebte Rede' for the device described above and 'innerer Monolog' for what is described in the next section.

In French 'le style indirect libre' is the established and accepted equivalent of 'erlebte Rede'. The only complication that occurs is that Dujardin's term 'le monologue intérieur indirect' exists alongside 'le style indirect libre' and designates the same thing. However, no real confusion arises. As was said above of Humphrey's 'indirect interior monologue', Dujardin's term is a literary one, applicable to sustained passages and consequently particularly applicable to the stream of consciousness novel. 'Le style indirect libre', on the other hand, is a general term applicable to 'erlebte Rede' in all its forms.

Interior Monologue

As good a definition as any of interior monologue is still the one given by Dujardin²⁵ in 1931:

Le monologue intérieur, comme tout monologue, est un discours du personnage mis en scène et a pour objet de nous introduire directement dans la vie intérieure de ce personnage, sans que l'auteur intervienne par des explications ou des commentaires, et, comme tout monologue, est un discours sans auditeur et un discours non prononcé; mais il se différencie du monologue traditionnel en ce que:

quant à sa matière, il est une expression de la pensée la plus intime, la plus proche de l'inconscient.

quant à son esprit, il est un discours antérieur à toute organisation logique, reproduisant cette pensée en son état naissant et d'aspect tout venant,

Quant à sa forme, il se réalise en phrases directes réduites au minimum syntaxial,

et ainsi répond-il essentiellement à la conception que nous faisons aujourd'hui de la poésie.

It also emerges quite clearly from Dujardin's analysis that interior monologue is always in the first person.

The standard example of interior monologue is Molly Bloom's monologue in *Ulysses*. The following is a brief extract from it.

Yes because he never did a thing like that before as ask to get his breakfast in bed with a couple of eggs since the 'City Arms' hotel where he used to be pretending to be laid up with a sick voice doing his highness to make himself interesting to that old faggot Mrs Riordan that he thought he had a great leg of and she never left us a farthing all for masses for herself and her soul greatest miser ever was actually afraid to lay out 4d for her methylated spirit telling me all her ailments²⁶

Most other exponents of interior monologue have not gone as far as Joyce in the matter of punctuation, but the method is otherwise basically the same.

If one compares this passage of interior monologue with the example of 'erlebte Rede' from Dorothy Richardson, one is immediately struck by the difference in person. There are other differences—quite apart from the difference in punctuation: differences in the level of consciousness represented, in syntactical coherence, in situational relevance, in the degree of mediation by the author. But the unmistakable difference is that the 'erlebte Rede' is in the third person and the interior monologue in the first person. This basic characteristic of 'erlebte Rede' and 'interior monologue' is never stressed sufficiently by writers on the subject, all of whom seem to assume or ignore the difference in person.

If one is clear that 'interior monologue' means this direct representation of the innermost thoughts of a character in the first person, then little confusion is possible. The term 'interior monologue' is accepted and used in the above sense, at least by Bowling, Humphrey and Friedman, though Humphrey does add the unnecessary attribute 'direct'. Confusion arose in the past through the equation of 'interior monologue' with 'stream of consciousness' and failure to distinguish clearly between 'interior monologue' and 'erlebte Rede'. The term 'internal monologue' is sometimes used.

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but 'interior monologue' seems to have achieved much greater currency.

The confusion that existed in German between 'erlebte Rede' and 'innerer Monolog' was discussed above under 'erlebte Rede'. 'Innerer Monolog' seems now to be a generally accepted equivalent of 'interior monologue' as described above. Franz Stanzel²⁷ uses 'der stille monolog', but he appears to be alone in this.

In French 'le monologue intérieur' has been used since about 1921 to designate the device described above and seems to have maintained its position without competitors.

It is clear that most problems of terminology in the analysis of the stream of consciousness novels have been connected with the term 'stream of consciousness' and with the devices of 'erlebte Rede' and 'interior monologue'. It may well be asked whether it matters very much at this stage whether there are terminological problems or not in connection with the stream of consciousness novel. After all, the first novels of Dorothy Richardson appeared over forty years ago. *Ulysses* belongs to 1922 and even Faulkner's stream of consciousness novels are some thirty years old. The stream of consciousness novel as a separate and special novel-type belongs to the past, and the total volume of critical literature about it is small compared with that about some individual novelists and other aspects of the novel. Yet it must not be forgotten that the innovations of the few become the stock-in-trade of the many. Every novelist today, even though his works may have little in common with those of James Joyce and Virginia Woolf, has at his disposal the devices in which the stream of consciousness novelists specialized. Consequently greater clarity about the techniques of the stream of consciousness novel means greater clarity about the techniques of the modern novel in general.

NOTES

¹ Bowling, L. E., 'What is the Stream of Consciousness Technique?' *PMLA*, 65 (1950), 337-45.

² Humphrey, R., *Stream of Consciousness in the Modern Novel* (Berkeley, Uni. of California Press, 1954).

³ Friedman, M. J. *Stream of Consciousness: a Study in Literary Method* (New Haven, Yale Uni. Press, 1955).

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵ Edel, L., *The Psychological Novel 1900-1955* (New York, Lippincott, 1955).

⁶ Meyer, K. R., *Zur Erlebten Rede (The Interior Monologue) im englischen Roman des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Winterthur, Keller, 1957).

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 67.

- ⁸ Storz, G., 'Über den "Monologue Intérieur" oder die "Erlebte Rede"', *Der Deutschunterricht*, 7 (1955), 41.
- ⁹ Kayser, W., *Entstehung und Krise des modernen Romans* (Stuttgart, Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1955), p. 31.
- ¹⁰ Dujardin, E., *Le monologue intérieur* (Paris, Messein, 1931).
- ¹¹ Warren, A. & Wellek, R., *Theory of Literature* (London, Cape, 1954), p. 233.
- ¹² Friedman, op. cit., p. 3.
- ¹³ The first use of the term in literary criticism is almost certainly by Valéry Larbaud in a lecture on James Joyce in 1921. The phrase 'un monologue intérieur' is supposed to have been coined by Alexander Dumas. It occurs in *Vingt ans après*. (See Friedman, op. cit., p. 1.)
- ¹⁴ Quoted by K. R. Meyer, op. cit., p. 67.
- ¹⁵ Humphrey, op. cit., p. 2.
- ¹⁶ Kayser, loc. cit.
- ¹⁷ Funke, O., 'Zur "Erlebten Rede" bei Galsworthy', *Englische Studien*, vol. 64, 1929. This term is taken over from Funke by K. R. Meyer.
- ¹⁸ From Arnold Bennett's *Clayhanger*. Quoted by K. R. Meyer, op. cit., p. 14.
- ¹⁹ From Dorothy Richardson's *The Tunnel*. Quoted by K. R. Meyer, op. cit., p. 81.
- ²⁰ According to Lerch, E., 'Ursprung und Bedeutung der sog. "Erlebten Rede"', *GRM*, 16 (1928), 462.
- ²¹ Curme, G. O., *A Grammar of the German Language* (New York, Macmillan, 1905), p. 248.
- ²² Jespersen, O., *The Philosophy of Grammar* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1951), p. 291.
- ²³ Mendilow, A. A., *Time and the Novel* (London, Nevill, 1952), p. 112.
- ²⁴ von Wilpert, G., *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur* (Stuttgart, Kröner, 1955).
- ²⁵ Dujardin, op. cit., pp. 58f.
- ²⁶ Joyce, J., *Ulysses* (New York, Modern Library, 1946), p. 723.
- ²⁷ Stanzel, F., *Die typischen Erzählsituationen im Roman* (Vienna, Braumüller, 1955).

ON THE ORIGIN OF AUSTRALIAN VOWEL SOUNDS

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The Approach to the Problem

PARADOXICALLY a historical study of Australian vowel sounds is more difficult than comparable phonological studies of other Germanic languages such as Gothic, Old English, Old Norse or Pidgin English because of the absence of relevant early written examples of the language for study. There is, of course, plenty of written Australian English from early times which provides material for semantic and lexical study, but through the historical accident of the prior development of a standard spelling for English which is insensitive to minor sound changes we cannot study the development of the 'Australian accent' through written inscriptions.¹

We are further handicapped by the absence of exact information about the regional and social origins of the first settlers. It is said² that for the student of American English the most important period of immigration to America is the first. The speech of all later settlers adapted itself to this original pronunciation. If the same assumption can be made of Australia we are concerned with four main groups of immigrants before 1821, namely town criminals from London, Birmingham, Dublin and other principal towns, rural workers, political offenders and a small number of literate criminals such as forgers.³ But historians can give us no detailed help. 'It is now impossible,' E. K. Crowley writes⁴ 'in the absence of the original records of the courts to estimate the relative proportions of persons from different social classes and counties in the British Isles who committed crimes and were sentenced to be transported.' Historians might equally well ask linguists for help in establishing the regional and social origins of early Australia. Neither group can assess precisely the component elements of the early population though probably both would agree that city dwellers who were not highly educated were an important part of it.

The earliest useful account of Australian speech, Samuel McBurney's,⁵ 1887, describes a speech not essentially different from that of today. Where we do find features in present day Australian which were not noted by McBurney, we cannot be quite certain that they did not then exist. It is very difficult to catch every detail of an unfamiliar pronunciation until we know what to look

for. We have almost a proof that McBurney overlooked for a time a feature of speech in Australia and New Zealand which we now consider striking—the close final [i] in a word such as *simplicity*. McBurney did not notice this until he came to Brisbane, but found that ‘almost all’ (or, even in Christchurch, ‘more than half’) of the speakers in all the places in Australia and New Zealand that he visited subsequently used it.⁶ It must have existed, though it passed unnoticed, in Victoria and Tasmania. And if this could pass unnoticed for a time, other features could pass unnoticed perhaps throughout his survey. We are thus virtually without direct evidence of any phase in the history of Australian pronunciation different from the present one.

It is not surprising then that the origins of Australian speech have been rather the occasion of idle conjecture than of serious study. Such suggestions as have been made have been made usually by non-linguists who are perhaps more puzzled by the fact of linguistic change itself than concerned to find the guiding influences that have formed the specific features of Australian pronunciation.

A favourite appeal of the amateur linguistic historian is to climate. It was an Australian who recently wrote that “in Great Britain the colder and damper northern weather has no doubt been a strong contributory factor to the closer vowels and tighter consonants we hear (with few exceptions) as we travel northwards. Travelling southwards and more especially southwestwards it is significant that the vowels become more open and prolonged, and the articulation of consonants less vigorous as the climate becomes milder.” Without scrutinizing the factual basis of this or appealing to northern vocalic languages such as Finnish, it is enough to point out that Australian vowels tend to be closer than corresponding English ones (and not only in Hobart or Melbourne) to throw doubt on the usefulness of this approach.

Another school sees the cause of change in a national inferiority complex leading to an inhibition in speech. The existence of this inhibition seems to be established by reference to a literary idea rather than by scientific observation. It is part of an awareness of a new and vast environment. It is doubtful whether psycholinguistics is yet able to connect psychological traits of this kind with phonological tendencies, even if the existence of the inhibition were established beyond doubt. A more than usually intelligent recent exponent of this theory⁷ suggests that, as speakers of various dialects were brought together, they would become self-conscious about any sounds in their speech that were unusual, and about their speech generally. This at least connects the supposed inhibition with linguistic reality, but the observation might more usefully

be cited to suggest how the various kinds of English speech brought to Australia merged quickly into one and perhaps to suggest a reason for the remarkable uniformity of Australian speech throughout the continent.

Another view ascribes the distinctive features of Australian speech to 'laziness'. This theory is likely to appeal most to the non-linguist who is not oppressed by an awareness of the great difficulties that experimental phonetics is finding in establishing connections between speech sounds and articulatory energy. Such progress as has been made connects increased nervous energy and hence muscular effort with the accented syllable of a word (especially with raised pitch or increased stress) and suggests that close vowels require more energy, other things being equal, than open ones.⁸ It is sometimes profitable to consider variations in energy between syllables in a word or the transfer of articulatory energy from one syllable to another but it would hardly be possible to compare two varieties of a language in terms of total energy. It happens, as will be shown, that some distinctive Australian sounds require more energy for their production than the corresponding Received Standard English sounds, but this does not necessarily mean that even whole words can be compared in terms of energy, since it is conceivable that stressed syllables receive energy at the expense of unstressed ones and factors such as intonation can hardly be assessed in the present state of our knowledge.

Another theory suggests an influence from aboriginal languages. This would not be a direct influence (it is not a substratum theory), but an influence exercised through place names.⁹ In general place names would simply be pronounced with the substitution of Australian English phonemes in place of the Aboriginal ones, but an influence on some unstressed sounds can at least be imagined. Thus final *-ee* (e.g. in *Coogee*, *Murrumbidgee*) must, to have received this spelling, have been an unusual final sound at least to the people who gave the names their spelling. This spelling would favour a long [i] pronunciation in these words, such as now occurs generally in words spelt with final *-y*. There is in fact an English parallel for this latter development but it might have been reinforced in Australia by the place names. Probably, however, place names have more influence on morphology (e.g. the frequency of place names in *-o* might favour *commo* rather than *commie*) than on phonology.

There remains a theory that Australian is simply Cockney.¹⁰ Though inaccurately stated in this form, this theory has much to recommend it, and it is a pity that it is so often stated by those

least anxious to study Australian phonology in a detached and scientific way. It has the merit of being a genuinely linguistic theory, approaching a variant language through its social and regional origins. The idea that the chief formative influence of Australian speech lies in its regional (Southern English) and social origins underlies informed modern opinion.¹¹

We may assume that among the first settlers in Australia several varieties of English were spoken. Some would speak Received Standard English, and this, because of its prestige and because its influence has been reinforced by generations of school-teachers, must be allowed an influence on all varieties of Australian speech out of proportion to the number of its speakers in the original settlement. Rustic workers would perhaps speak various regional dialects; many city dwellers would speak a sub-standard form of Received English, i.e. Modified Standard English.¹² This may well have been a dominant speech form in early Australia. Out of the many varieties of English there emerged a generalized speech bearing the same sort of relation to individual 'accents' as Francis Galton's composite photographs, designed to bring out family or national traits, bore to the photographs of individuals.¹³ Since there was an element of the same sort of phenomenon in the formation of Received Standard itself,¹⁴ we may describe the relationship of Received Standard and Australian pronunciation not as parent and daughter languages but as two successive generalizations of English speech based in each case predominantly on the South East Midland variety, the second generalization including the first as its most important component.

W. Horn¹⁵ has suggested that because linguistic innovations do not travel quickly to remote areas the present distribution of variants of Standard English (*Hochsprache*) reflects phases in its development. The *Nebeneinander* illustrates the *Nacheinander*. He is mainly interested in the survivals of older speech forms in the remoter parts of the British Isles but he makes the point, useful for our present purpose, that as one approaches the South East and London one reaches up-to-date Standard English and begins to find in the popular speech forms in advance of it, since a standard language is conservative. If Cockney gives us a glimpse of the future in this way, we might make a similar claim for the generalized modified standard and south east Midland speech we have supposed possible for the original Australian speech, and for its development in its new environment. It might, in fact, give an even truer picture precisely because it is a generalized picture of advanced forms of speech without the chance idiosyncracies of local dialects. One may in fact with some truth speak of Australian

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pronunciation as a more advanced form of Received Standard English or of Received Standard English as a conservative form of Australian. The relationship is not simple and direct but if corresponding sounds in the two forms of speech can be shown to be connected as different stages of an evolutionary process the Australian sounds may be said to be 'explained'. We may speak as though each Australian sound has passed at some time through a stage represented by the corresponding English sound (or more strictly the Standard English sound of the late eighteenth century or earlier) though the divergence may actually have begun in the component varieties of substandard English before the settlement of Australia. Some such concept must underlie Professor Mitchell's suggested explanation of present Australian vowels as a 'vowel shift'.¹⁶ Obviously such a technique can only be a suggestive guide and not a rigorous formula. It may, however, have heuristic value in isolating those features of Australian speech that are 'unusual' from those that continue the normal trend in the evolution of English sounds.

It is time to list the vowel sounds of Standard English with Australian variants (and, to justify the suggestion that the changes begin in Modified Standard English, similar variants found in England where they occur). It will then be possible to look for a general trend of change in Australian English and compare this trend with the earlier sound changes of English and look for an underlying direction of change that would justify a belief that Australian developments continue the total process of English vowel change.

*The Vowels in Detail*¹⁷

[i] The sound in *sea, feel, read*. English variants are a diphthong (ii) and a more noticeable diphthong [əi] characteristic of Cockney speech especially in strongly stressed position, e.g. [grɪt tə məi] and also heard in Northern, Midland and Eastern counties. This [əi] diphthong, written [əɪ] by Mitchell, is usual in Broad Australian speech.

[I] The sound of *fit, did, little*. In stressed position the chief English variant is [ə] (e.g.) [bət] for [bit], a variant often heard in New Zealand. The Australian sound in stressed position is closer and more forward than its English counterpart.

In unstressed position [ə] is a common variant in England where a low variety of [ɪ] in words such as *pocket, audible* [pokit], [ɔ:dɪbl] would normally be used. This is not as a rule done with *-es* and *-ed*, perhaps as Jones¹⁸ suggests to retain a

distinction between pairs such as *officers* [ɒfɪsɪz] and *officers* [ɒfɪsəz], *chartered* [tʃɑ:tɪd] and *chartered* [tʃɑ:təd]. In Australian [ə] is used even with *-es* and *-ed* and the distinction between such pairs as *offices*, *officers* is lost.

Some English speakers (in the north) use a closer vowel in place of final [ɪ] pronouncing e.g. *busy* as [bɪzi]. This sound may be lengthened or (in Cockney) diphthongized to [əɪ] [bɪzəɪ]. This closer pronunciation is normal in Australia and the diphthongized form is usual in Broad Australian. The diphthong is heard in New Zealand too. In Christchurch I heard a child too young to be misled by written forms impatiently call to its mother in three distinct syllables, [mām-mə:-i:].

In Australia this feature extends beyond finals into other unstressed positions, e.g. *receive* as [risɪv] (educated) or [rəɪsəɪv]

[ɛ] The sound in *bet*, *egg*, *shell*. In Cockney (except before [ɪ]), the sound is close, approaching cardinal [ɛ]. Australian [ɛ] is nearer cardinal [ɛ] than cardinal [ɛ], higher than the English [ɛ].

[æ] The sound in *bad*, *catch*. In Cockney this sound is noticeably raised, being usually higher than cardinal [ɛ] and almost as high as cardinal [e] sometimes. Australian [æ] is higher than English [æ] but hardly as high as Cockney.

[ɑ] The sound in *father*, *calm*, *half*. A forward [ɑ:] sound occurs in some varieties of English, more especially Northern ones. In London a retracted [ɑ:] was common though [ɑ:] is often heard now. The Australian and New Zealand pronunciation, [ɑ:], a front vowel, is often regarded as a distinctive feature of our pronunciation.

[ɒ] The sound in *not*, *long*, *box*. The Australian sound tends to be a little closer than the English.

[ɔ] The sound in *caught*, *saw*, *call*. The main variants in England lie in the degree of lip rounding used. In London pronunciation there is considerable lip rounding but excessive lip rounding is not generally thought to be a feature of Australian, even by those who say Australians speak Cockney. The Australian [ɔ] sound is higher than the English one, being above cardinal [ɔ] instead of below it.

[ʊ] The sound in *put*, *book*. No variation is noted.

[u] The sound in *too*, *you*, *beauty*. The Australian diphthongal [əu] does not seem to occur in England, though a form

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[vu] is noted. Cockney has a very forward /u:/ sound (like an unrounded [y]) which is also heard in New Zealand.

[ʌ] The sound in *but, mother*. Australian and Cockney agree in having a front sound, forward of the central vowel area, and a little lower than the English [ʌ].

[ɜ] The sound in *bird, fur, learn*. Australian [ɜ] is closer than the English sound.

[ə] The first vowel in *alone*, the last in *butter*. This vowel is closer in Australian than in English.

[ei] The sound in *lady, make*. The Australian sound is [ai], the initial segment of the diphthong being the Australian front vowel [ʌ]. The Cockney sound is usually written [ai] but the initial segment is probably usually a little retracted and centralized, that is the Australian (or Cockney) [ʌ]¹⁹.

[ou] The sound in *go, home*. This sound has several English variants including [ʌu]. This [ʌ] may approach [a] in which case it resembles Australian [ʌ] the first element of the Australian variant of this diphthong, [ʌu].

[ai] The sound in *my, time*. One of the Cockney pronunciations of this diphthong, [ɔi] comes near the Australian pronunciation.

[au] The sound in *now, round*. In the Standard English diphthong the first element though written "a" is in fact somewhat retracted. In Cockney, however, it is a fully front sound, perhaps raised to [æ] or even [ɛ], and often monophthongized. Australian [æu] is one (rather 'refined') type of the Cockney diphthong.

[ɔi] The sound in *boy, noise*. Even in Educated Australian the initial element of this diphthong is a little higher than in English. A higher first element also occurs in Cockney, where there is over-rounding as well.

[ɪə] The sound in *here, beard, idea*. In Australian the glide of the diphthong is often slight so that the pronunciation approaches [ɪ:].

[eə] The sound in *there, fair*. Again Australian tends towards a lengthened monophthong, [ɛ:].

[ɔə] The sound in *more, board*. Many south eastern English speakers, like the Australians, omit the [ə] glide from this diphthong and pronounce [ɔ:].

[və] The sound in *tour*. Monophthongal variants with lowering may be regarded as standard. Professor Mitchell notes no variant of this sound. I suspect that in New Zealand the first element is often nearer [u:] (*tour* rhymes with *fewer*) or even [ü:] (a forward variant of [u:]).

The Trend of the Variation

Monophthongs in stressed position in Australian speech usually vary from the corresponding English sounds by being closer or more forward. The pronunciation of /ɛ/, /æ/, /ɒ/, /ɔ/, and /ə/ is closer, of /a:/ and /ʌ/ more forward, and of /ɪ/ both closer and more forward. The sounds [i:] and [u:] already fully close have become diphthongized by an intrusive initial [ə]. This much of the Australian development inevitably recalls the English Great Vowel Shift in the early modern period. There the changes affected long vowels chiefly; the modern shift is affecting all vowels, perhaps because length is no longer such an important element in our phonology as it was, and the qualitatively different 'short' vowels are in fact frequently lengthened.²⁰

The parallelism in the development of /i:/ and /u:/ in Australian appears to have no counterpart in contemporary English but has an exact counterpart in the earlier English sound changes. [əi] and [əu] are postulated as first stages in the development of Middle English ī and ū towards modern [ai] and [au]²¹. Australian pronunciations of *team* and *croon* thus resemble Shakespearean pronunciations of *time* and *crown*.²² The fronting of /a:/ resembles a similar fronting of Middle English a: at the beginning of the vowel shift.²³ The [æ] sound of e.g. *chance* [tʃæns] is in accordance with this trend but is perhaps of regional (northern) origin. (Could it have come, with the word 'old identity' from Otago? It is comparatively recent and not yet fully established.) An exception to the generalization that stressed sounds acquire closer pronunciation must be made in the case of /ʌ/. The earlier history of the same sound shows a similarly exceptional lowering.

This striking similarity between early modern sound changes and contemporary ones is not an accidental curiosity but is in keeping with a wider and more general trend in English and in other Germanic languages, a tendency to develop a certain type of vowel sound in stressed syllables and a different type in unstressed ones. Unstressed syllables tend to develop a lowered or central (ə) vowel; pronunciations with a high vowel, especially a high front vowel, in unstressed position are unstable. In contrast there is a tendency to develop high and front sounds in stressed

syllables. Both tendencies are already seen in Old English i-mutation.²⁴ The Great Vowel Shift, a consistent development of closer sounds in stressed syllables occurring along with the reduction and disappearance of unstressed syllables, appears to be in accordance with this trend. The whole trend accords well with the evidence from experimental phonetics that a closer sound requires more energy for its production than a more open one, the more energetic sound naturally occurring in conjunction with stress.

We do not at first glance appear to find the evidence we might expect from general theory for a reduction of unstressed elements in Australian. Australian [ə] is a little higher than English [ə]. But, even if we can assume that generalizations about energy content and degree of vowel opening apply to this somewhat exceptional sound, we cannot attempt a direct comparison of the two sounds because Australian [ə] corresponds not only with English [ə] but also frequently with English [ɪ]. In relation to [ɪ] it does appear as a reduction and the Australian pronunciation of a word like *penguin* has undergone a process comparable with i-mutation, the *e* being raised, the *i* lowered. Except that the change in the stressed syllable is not phonemically important, it differs from i-mutation only in the fact that such changes of vowels in Australian are not confined to words where *i* follows:

The development of [i] or [əi] in the unstressed syllables of words such as *receive* is not in accordance with expected sound change. Vowels in unstressed position have usually been shortened, not lengthened, and reduced, not raised, in Germanic languages. The explanation of this change lies, no doubt, in sociological rather than phonological conditions. It seems to have no parallel in English variant pronunciations and was not recorded by McBurney and so may be comparatively recent. It is, I think, a spelling pronunciation and the comparatively careful rhythms of Australian speech generally may owe something to the influence of written forms. Literacy has been widespread through much of Australia's history while the oral cultural traditions of closer settled communities have been comparatively lacking.

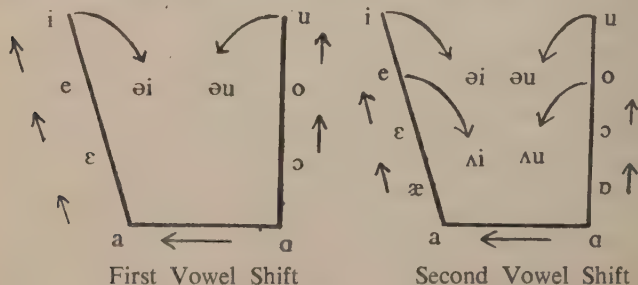
The final [i] of *city*, etc., is more difficult. There are English analogues, but Northern ones. The sound occurs early (before McBurney) and could hardly be due to spelling. We might at first sight be tempted to assume a sporadic northern influence (as perhaps with [tʃæns]) or the influence of *-ee* in place names. The sound is normal in New Zealand too but could still have Australian origin. The existence of Cockney [əi] in these words, however, suggests an earlier [i], and we must, I think, assume that this sound is of Southern English origin and any finally ac-

ceptable phonological theory will have to take it into account.

When we compare the diphthongs of Received Standard English with their Australian counterparts we have few parallel phenomena from the period of the Vowel Shift. Middle English inherited no diphthongs from Old English as the O.E. diphthongs had undergone a process of smoothing. This earlier process of smoothing itself might provide a parallel with one Australian phenomenon, the tendency to create lengthened monophthongs instead of the English diphthongs [iə], [eə], [ɔə]. So e.g. OE *ea* (pronounced [æə]) lost its final element to become identical with *æ*. The lengthened first element is also slightly raised (like [i], [ɛ], [ɔ] elsewhere) just as *æ*: in Middle English was raised to *e*.

In two other cases /au/, /ɔi/ ²⁵ the first element of a diphthong is raised. This seems understandable. The raising of the first elements of diphthongs is a common phenomenon in the early history of Germanic languages and seems to be in accordance with the raising of vowels in stressed syllables. In one case a forward energy peak is built up in a word, in the other case in a syllable. Of new diphthongs created in Middle English some underwent raising of the first element—the diphthongs of *new*, *few*, *day*.

But already in Middle English a new type of diphthong begins to develop. Out of the monophthongs *ī* and *ū* closing diphthongs [əi], [əu] were formed, and, as we have noticed, an exact parallel for this symmetrical change of front and back long close vowels is found in Australian. But in Australian this symmetrical development is carried further. The sounds next in closeness, [e], [o], already diphthongized to [ei], [ou] in English form closing diphthongs parallel with [əi], [əu] retaining their more open pronunciation to become [ʌi], [ʌu]. If we trace the whole development from an earlier stage of English, when [e], [o] were still monophthongs, to modern Australian, we find that all half close and close long vowels have become closing diphthongs, [i]/[e] becoming [əi]/[ʌi] and [u]/[o] becoming [əu]/[ʌu].



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As the diphthongs /ei/, /ou/ developed towards [ɿ], [ʌ], the earlier [ɿ], [ʌ] sounds, stages in the development of English /ai/, /au/, have had to undergo change in Australian to retain separate identity. In English /ai/ has a more forward first element than /au/ but in Australian each diphthong shows a maximum differentiation of first and second element, [ɿ], [æu].

The Australian development of [ɿ], perhaps necessary to avoid confusion with [ɿ] appears less in keeping with expected developments than English [ai]. Probably [ɿ] did not develop through a stage [ai.] Middle English [ai] in a general context of change similar to that of modern Australian developed towards [ei]. The only parallel for the retraction of the first element of an existing diphthong during the Great Vowel Shift is the development of [au] towards [ɔ:] but here the back articulation of the second element offers some explanation.

It is perhaps worth noticing that the sound [ʌ] which appears as the first element of some characteristic Australian diphthongs is the sound which seems to develop exceptionally among the stressed monophthongs. Until experimental phonetics can provide some information on the relation of this sound to articulatory energy we cannot explain its development from higher sounds in contexts where the general tendency is the other way. But in any case diphthongs beginning with [ʌ] or [ə] unavoidably seem to show a reduction of the first element, and both require study in terms of the energy distribution of the syllable. The whole problem, like the (in some ways opposite) problem of the raising of stressed monophthongs generally and not only where a succeeding sound in the same word provides an obvious source of articulatory energy (i.e. 'i-mutation without an *i*'), is a problem in Middle English phonology as much as Australian. It is probable that a serious study of the Australian problem would throw new light on Middle English phonology.²⁶

CONCLUSION

Australian speech, like London English and other popular forms of English may indicate new trends in the development of English and illuminate its past history. It may do so rather better because it is itself a generalization of several varieties of spoken English. Few elements in Australian speech are novel but the system they form is distinctive. In some ways this system provides a better insight into the general trend still at work in English phonology than local varieties of speech in the British Isles (e.g. in the symmetrical development of the close and half close long vowels).

Stressed monophthongs in Australian English tend to be higher than their English counterparts, the two systems resembling early and late stages of the Great Vowel Shift. As in early Middle English some opening diphthongs are smoothed and closing diphthongs begin to develop. This raises a question about the pattern of energy distribution within a syllable which should be studied with both Middle English and Australian in mind.

A possibly recent tendency disturbs the general pattern of English sound change, a literate pronunciation which tends to equalize the stress on the various syllables of a word and develop in unstressed syllables long vowels and even diphthongs normally associated with stressed vowels.

The history of Australian English is part of the history of English and each throws light on the other. We may as in the past interpret our experience in the light of European learning, but we may hope in so doing to advance European learning in the light of our experience. For that reason detailed study of the problems hinted at in this sketch might be useful.

NOTES

¹ A. G. Mitchell *The Pronunciation of English in Australia* (Sydney, 1946) notes (p. 23) that poets' rhymes and occasional spellings in letters and journals have yielded no information. Attempts to render uneducated speech in fiction are likely to follow English literary convention.

² e.g. A. C. Baugh *A History of the English Language* (London, 1951) p. 416.

³ *Australia. A Social and Political History* ed. Prof. Gordon Greenwood. Chapter I "The Foundation Years" by E. K. Crowley p. 15.

⁴ loc. cit.

⁵ In A. J. Ellis *Early English Pronunciation* vol. 5 (London, 1889) pp. 236-248.

⁶ Ellis' note. op. cit. p. 245.

⁷ K. Sinclair *A History of New Zealand* (Harmondsworth, 1959) p. 225.

⁸ L. F. Brosnahan *Some Old English Sound Changes* (Cambridge, 1953) Chapter X "Accent and Energy" and the references given there.

⁹ S. J. Baker *The Australian Language* (Sydney, 1945) p. 354f.

¹⁰ This is basically McBurney's and Ellis' explanation of deviations from Standard English in Australia (e.g. op. cit. p. 238) Professor Mitchell (e.g. op. cit. p. 7-8) has drawn attention to the inaccuracy of such a specific description of Australian English, a description which has undoubtedly favoured a frequent mishearing of Australian sounds by unskilled observers.

¹¹ A. G. Mitchell in *Quadrant* No. 9 (Summer 1958-9) especially p. 70.

¹² H. C. Wyld *A Short History of English* (London 3rd. ed.) p. 148 ff. The importance of Modified Standard in the formation of Australian is suggested

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by Professor Mitchell in *The Pronunciation of English in Australia* p. 27. Its role in the formation of American English is noted by L. Bloomfield *Language* (London, 1935) p. 485. The distinction between Standard and Modified Standard is to some extent reflected in the distinction between Educated and Broad Australian. For brevity I use the term "Australian" to mean Broad Australian in this study.

¹³ Galton made a "composite portrait" by photographing, with very brief exposure, several people on one photographic plate. "The effect of composite portraiture is to bring into evidence all the traits in which there is agreement and to leave but a ghost of a trace of individual peculiarities" *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development* (Everyman edition, p. 7) .

¹⁴ Bloomfield op. cit. p. 484. cf. Wyld op. cit. p. 143.

¹⁵ W. Horn *Laut und Leben* (Berlin 1954) p. 69-70.

¹⁶ *The Pronunciation of English in Australia* p. 32.

¹⁷ My source for the Australian vowels is A. G. Mitchell *The Pronunciation of English in Australia* Chapter V, for English variants Ida Ward *The Phonetics of English* (I have used the 1950 reprint of the 4th ed.) Chapters XI and XII.

¹⁸ D. Jones *An Outline of English Phonetics* (Cambridge, 8th ed. 1956) p. 68 (footnote).

¹⁹ This does not appear from Ida Ward's discussion of the diphthong in Chapter XII, but is mentioned in a note on the pronunciation of the flower girl's speech in *Pygmalion* on p. 234.

²⁰ Ida Ward op. cit. p. 202.

²¹ E. J. Dobson. *English Pronunciation 1500-1700* (Oxford, 1957) p. 661. Dobson, in fact, cites the Australian sound to identify the earlier English one.

²² H. Kökeritz *Shakespeare's Pronunciation* (New Haven, 1953), p. 216.

²³ Wyld op. cit. p. 167.

²⁴ L. F. Brosnahan op. cit.

²⁵ But [ɔɪ] may have developed in English after the settlement of Australia. See Wyld op. cit. p. 197f and references given there.

²⁶ A different explanation from mine of the raising of Middle English vowel sounds is that of W. Horn (op. cit. pp. 36-50, especially pp. 47-50) who supposes that stress was accompanied by higher pitch which caused vowel variation. We cannot check the intonation of Middle English but that of Australian rises less high than that of English though vowel raising is carried further. It seems reasonable to apply Occam's razor and explain the vowel variation directly by reference to stress. It is of course possible that both the intonation and rythm of present day Australian are comparatively recent developments related to the (possibly recent) lengthening of unstressed syllables.

LEONARD WOOLF'S MASTERPIECE

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LEONARD WOOLF¹ is known to the common reader chiefly as the husband of Virginia. Yet he is himself an able writer (of novels, a play, essays, and political and historical treatises); his magnum opus, *After the Deluge*, though somewhat cranky, is one of the outstanding works of political theory of our time; and his novel, *The Village in the Jungle*, is a masterpiece.

It is the worth of this novel that I wish particularly to emphasize. Though it has had a creditable record of publication² since it first appeared in 1913, it has never received the wide acclaim it seems to me to deserve—possibly because it is not strikingly ‘modern’, because it has been overshadowed by Virginia’s brilliant *tours de force*, and because, after writing it, Leonard did not go on to establish himself as a novelist but turned instead to political science.³

The novel is about the half dozen or so families of Beddagama—a little village in the south eastern jungles of Ceylon—and their continual losing battle against poverty, fear and disease, and against the jungle. It tells of the hunter Silindu’s attempts to thwart the plots of his enemies, the headman, the medicine man, and Fernando, an outsider who holds all the villagers in his debt. Silindu is eventually driven to murder his enemies and is removed to a distant town for trial and execution. One by one the villagers are destroyed by famine and disease. Silindu’s daughter, Punchi Menika, is the last survivor. She lives alone in what remains of the village for a short time till she falls ill, and a wild animal creeps into her hut and kills her. The village is rapidly smothered by the jungle and disappears from existence.

Woolf’s imaginative power is felt immediately in his description of the jungle which surrounds and dominates the village of Beddagama:

The village was called Beddagama, which means the village in the jungle. It lay in the low country or plains, midway between the sea and the great mountains which seem, far away to the north, to rise like a long wall straight up from the sea of trees. It was in, and of, the jungle; the air and smell of the jungle lay heavy upon it—the smell of hot air, of dust, and of dry and powdered leaves and sticks. Its beginning and its end was in the jungle, which stretched away from it on all sides unbroken.

north and south and east and west, to the blue line of the hills and to the sea. The jungle surrounded it, overhung it, continually pressed in upon it. It stood at the door of the houses, always ready to press in upon the compounds and open spaces, to break through the mud huts, and to choke up the tracks and paths. It was only by yearly clearing with axe and katty that it could be kept out. It was a living wall about the village, a wall which, if the axe were spared, would creep in and smother and blot out the village itself.

In *The Village in the Jungle*, as much as in a novel by D. H. Lawrence, there is the consciousness of a life in nature which is stronger and more enduring than the human, but whereas Lawrence's 'nature' is passionately intimate with the human, Woolf's is an alien and inhuman presence, whose domain is 'a world of bare and brutal facts, of superstition, of grotesque imagination; a world of trees and the perpetual twilight of their shade; a world of hunger and fear and devils, where a man was helpless before the unseen and unintelligible powers surrounding him.' Woolf enforces this general comment by describing the merciless struggle for existence among the animals during the dry season and by recounting the fate of a hunter who rashly boasted that he had no fear of the jungle; and, by his vivid depiction of details of the background, Woolf creates a sense of the jungle's sinister and malignant life—'enormous cactuses, evil-looking and obscene, with their great fleshy green slabs, which put out immense needle-like spines . . . great leafless trees, which look like a tangle of gigantic spiders' legs—smooth, bright green, jointed together—from which, when they are broken, oozes out a milky, viscous fluid. . . .'

Such is the setting for the life of the village of Beddagama which, as much as that of the deer and the jackal and the leopard, is pervaded and dominated by the surrounding jungle. The lives of the human characters are as full of violence and suffering as those of the jungle creatures, and the human action is always seen in its relation to the life of the jungle. At the crisis of the action, the moments of most acute realisation, the characters themselves are aware of an intimate relationship between the jungle and their own evils and sufferings. So, when Fernando, the outsider who holds all the villagers in his debt, threatens to ruin Silindu's daughter if she refuses to give herself up to him, her answer is:

'What is there to say, aiya? I cannot do it. If this thing must come to us, what can we do? Always evil is coming into this house—from the jungle, my father says. At first there was no food. Then the devil entered into my father. Then more evil.

upon my sister and her child, and upon my child. The children died; . . . they killed my sister. And now evil again.'

In the jungle no attitude to life seems possible other than fatalism; and the melancholy fatalism of the Buddhist religion—the sense of the burden of life and the desire for release—informs the emotional climate of the characters' lives. In the reflections of Silindu after the murders, for example, when he thinks of himself as a hunted animal—hunted first by the headman and by Fernando, then by the law, and hunted finally by the evil of his act and his longing for rest and peace—the feeling is analogous to that conveyed by the Buddhist Wheel of Sansara, the endless cycle of suffering. The fatalistic attitude of Buddhism is reflected, too, in any number of incidental remarks: 'Evils come upon a man: it is fate. What can I do? . . . August is the month in which the children die. What can I do? . . . If this thing must come upon us, what can we do?' In its extreme form, for example in the speech of the crazed old beggar whom Silindu meets on the way to the trial, the fatalism amounts to a denial of any worth or purpose in human life:

I see many different men on the path. Strange men, and they do strange things. Thieving, stabbing, killing, cultivating paddy. I do not cultivate paddy, nor do I thief or kill. I am mad perhaps. But very often it is they who seem to me to want but a little to be mad. All this doing and doing—running round and round like red ants—thieving, stabbing, killing, cultivating this and that. Is there much good or wisdom in such a life? It seems to me full of evil—nothing but evil and trouble. Do they ever sit down and rest, do they ever meditate? Desire and desire again, and no fulfilment ever. Is such a life sane or mad?

Although a fatalistic attitude is common to all the characters, the novel is genuinely a tragedy. For, while we are continually aware of the helplessness of the villagers in the face of evil and suffering, we have at the same time just as powerful an impression of their vitality in defeat. They live strongly in their suffering, as though through it they have established contact with the roots of life. Punchi Menika, for instance, still clings fiercely to her home even when she is the only surviving inhabitant and the jungle has closed over every hut but her own.

In *The Village in the Jungle*, Woolf has succeeded in creating a symbol of the common human situation. Man clears a tiny part of the jungle, lives and works in it for a time, perhaps wrings some happiness from it, but the jungle is stronger than he and holds in

its depths the mystery of evil and suffering. So, the cry 'Aiyo!' which is heard often in the speech of the characters (even in a lullaby) seems not merely circumstantial, but an expression of the primal pain—

'Aiyo! aiyo! will the trees never end?
Our women's feet are weary; O Great One, send
Night on us, that our wanderings may end.'
'Aiyo! aiyo! the way is rough and steep,
Aiyo! the thorns are sharp, the rivers deep,
But the night comes at last. So sleep, child, sleep.'

The Village in the Jungle is based largely on Woolf's experiences in Hambantota in the south-east of Ceylon, where he was Assistant Government Agent from 1901 to 1911. The official diaries,⁴ which he kept during these years, are still in the kachari, or government office, at Hambantota. They contain mainly official matter, of course—Woolf would not have been doing his job properly as A.G.A. if he had devoted his reports to literary description—but there are many entries of considerable interest to readers of the novel. Above all, the diaries show how detailed and comprehensive was Woolf's knowledge of the inhabitants and conditions of the Hambantota district. Under the British Administration the A.G.A. had greater powers than the corresponding Ceylonese official has today. Decisions which now rest with a Minister or a Permanent Secretary were then his responsibility. His relations with villagers were comparatively leisurely and unofficial, and often quite personal—as the following amusing account indicates:

. . . in the middle of the proceedings the crowd parted and an old man with one side of his face shaved and the other side unshaven rushed into the ring and fell at my feet. He complained that the barber in the bazaar, after shaving one half of his face, had refused to shave the other unless paid 50 cents. The price of a shave in Walasmulla is 5 cents. The barber was sent for and appeared accompanied by some hundreds of spectators. The decision was that he was to complete the shave and to be paid nothing and that if he cut the old man he was to pay 50 cents. The operation was completed under a coconut tree in the compound before a vast crowd of spectators. The old man was in deadly earnest, the barber who had the face of a rogue and a humourist said nothing but appeared vastly amused. This incident is typical of not a few of the 'inquiries' which take place on circuit in villages. (Entry for February 17, 1910.)

In *The Village in the Jungle* we are frequently reminded that

human habitations represent only a temporary conquest over the jungle. Beddagama is a dying village and we hear of former villages now covered by jungle—‘The last house,’ says Silindu, speaking of a neighbouring village, ‘was abandoned when I was a boy, but the devil still dances beneath the nuga trees.’ The following entry, therefore, bears directly on the novel:

Walked to Andarewewa. This is a depopulated country which I have not seen before. There is no longer any village at Andarawewa: the inhabitants all died or left some five years ago. One old man who came with me used to live there. He owns land under the tank: its only use to him is that a year or two ago he went to jail for not doing earthwork. This tank must be struck off or the land sold to people who can restore the tank. Breakfasted at Andarawewa and walked on to Suriyawewa. Inspected Beddawewa on way.

These villages are decimated by malaria. It is an awful sight to see the children. In Beddawewa tank I saw a child of about five standing and pouring water over himself. He was a pallid yellow colour, absolutely skin and bones, but his belly was about three times the size of the rest of the body. His uncle with whom he lives ‘gave him quinine the maha before this’, i.e. in 1909. The Police Officer had no quinine, it takes him two days to get to Hambantota. I told the uncle that the child would die if allowed to go on like that and he replied, ‘Probably he will die: most of our children are dying.’ I had the child taken into Hambantota, but there are any number of similar cases. (Entry for January 13, 1911.)

The uncle’s comment in the above passage is very similar to the fatalistic observations made by the characters in the novel, like the one quoted earlier—‘August is the month in which the children die. What can I do?’

There are many entries in the diaries that closely parallel passages in the novel, and it is interesting to examine the means by which Woolf has wrought his official records into potent images of life in the jungle. For example, in the following passages (the former two from the diaries, the latter two from the novel) the details are the same, but there is in the passage from the novel a conscious artistry that is naturally not much in evidence in the diaries: the novelist transforms the jungle into a symbol of the cruelty of nature.

The great want in this sanctuary is water in the dry season. It is then that the tanks and water holes which lie towards the

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centre of the sanctuary in the open spaces which the deer love give out: the south-west wind is blowing off the sea at that time. It is only the elephants who remember where the rivers lie and who make off at once to the water: the other animals, the buffalo and deer, have forgotten the rivers, they smell the water in the wind off the sea and they wander about sniffing the air for days, their heads always turned towards the sea. Some of them die of thirst and exhaustion before they wander to the rivers. Mr Engelhecht tells me that sometimes at this time of the year the deer find a small waterhole in which the water has got so low they cannot get down to it and will wander round and round it for days perpetually sniffing the air. (Entry for January 28, 1909.)

There is little pleasure to be derived from travelling in the Magampattu jungle after 8 a.m. now. There has practically been no rain for over three months. The heat is intense: a tremendous south-west wind sweeps clouds of sand and dust over the country: the grass burnt black, all the undergrowth and smaller shrubs brown and withered and many of the larger trees leafless. (Entry for July 7, 1910.)

Over great tracts there is no water for the animals to drink. Only the elephants remember the great rivers, which lie far away, and whose tracks they left when the rains came; as soon as the south-west wind begins to blow, they make for the rivers again. But the deer and the pig have forgotten the rivers. In the waterholes the water has sunk too low for them to reach it on the slippery rocks; for days and nights they wander round and round the holes, stretching down their heads to the water, which they cannot touch.

Many die of thirst and weakness around the waterholes. From time to time one, in his efforts to reach the water, slips and falls into the muddy pool, and in the evening the leopard finds him an easy prey. The great herds of deer roam away, tortured by thirst, through the parched jungle. They smell the scent of water in the great wind that blows from the sea. Day after day they wander away from the rivers into the wind, south towards the sea, stopping from time to time to raise their heads and snuff in the scent of the water, which draws them on. Again many die of thirst and weariness on the way, and the jackals follow the herds, and pull down in the open the fawns that their mothers are too weak to protect. And the herds wander on until at last they stand upon the barren, waterless shore of the sea. (*The Village in the Jungle*, Chapter 1.)

The pools and small waterholes begin to dry up under the great heat; the earth becomes caked and hard. Then the wind begins to blow from the south-west, fitfully at first, but growing steadier and stronger every day. A little rain falls, the last before the long drought sets in. The hot, dry wind sweeps over the trees. The grass and the shrubs die down; the leaves on the small trees shrivel up, and grow black and fall. (*The Village in the Jungle*, Chapter 1.)

Woolf's writing is simple and natural, but it possesses the power that comes from skilful arrangement and heightening. It has been worked over far more than one is likely to realize in an ordinary reading, as is well illustrated by the two passages below. The first is from the diaries :

Held inquiry into the death of the game watcher Punchirala. There are many suspicious circumstances, but I must bring in a verdict of death from cause unknown. His remains are found in a place outside his beat one mile along the northern boundary of the sanctuary in a place where no watcher will go unaccompanied. It leads nowhere. He left Kataragama early one morning in June: he had no food with him. He must have intended to return to Kataragama by the afternoon or to get food at Talgasmankada. Yet his own son who was there denies that he came there. His axe was hung in a tree near the bones which were scattered about, obviously gnawed by animals. Most remarkable of all, the handle of the axe, a stout piece of wood, was broken. (Entry for April 1, 1911.)

In this account Woolf notes the mysterious nature of Punchirala's death, and in particular the fact that the stout axe handle was broken. How much more is made of the incident in the novel! Woolf here skilfully builds up a contrast between the petty boastfulness of the hunter and the obscure and inexorable powers of the jungle :

There are people who will tell you that they have no fear of the jungle, that they know it as well as the streets of Maha Nuwara or their own compounds. Such people are either liars or boasters, or they are fools, without understanding or feeling for things as they really are. I knew such a man once, a hunter and tracker of game, a little man with hunched-up shoulders and peering, cunning little eyes, and a small dark face all pinched and lined, for he spent his life crouching, slinking, and peering through the undergrowth and the trees. He was more silent than the leopard and more cunning than the jackal: he knew the tracks

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better than the doe who leads the herd. He would boast that he could see a buck down wind before it could scent him, and a leopard through the thick undergrowth before it could see him. 'Why should I fear the jungle?' he would say. 'I know it better than my own compound. A few trees and bushes and leaves, and some foolish beasts. There is nothing to fear there.' One day he took his axe in his hand, and the sandals of deerhide to wear in thorny places, and he went out to search for the shed horns of deer, which he used to sell to traders from the town. He never returned to the village again, and months afterwards in thick jungle, I found his bones scattered upon the ground, beneath some thorn-bushes, gnawed by the wild pig and the jackal, and crushed and broken by the trampling of elephants. And among his bones lay a bunch of peacock feathers that he had collected and tied together with a piece of creeper, and his betel-case, and the key of his house, and the tattered fragments of his red cloth. In the fork of one of the thorn-bushes hung his axe: the massive wooden handle had been snapped in two. I do not know how he died; but I know that he had boasted that there was no fear in the jungle, and in the end the jungle took him. (*The Village in the Jungle*, Chapter 1.)

Taken all in all, the official records show how well Woolf grew to understand the people and conditions in the area under his supervision. There are passages that make a careful analysis of the complex religion of the peasants—part Buddhism, part Hinduism, part devil worship; other passages that demonstrate his grasp of the psychology of the villagers and the economic conditions of village life; others, his close observation of the animal and plant life of the jungle. The impression must not be left, however, that Woolf's records are discursive and literary. He was apparently a conscientious civil servant; and, as such, he was concerned with numerous matters that have no bearing on *The Village in the Jungle*. Perhaps, in order to right the balance, an example should be given of one of his more official and mundane entries. Here, then, is a passage concerning the price of 'salt':

The question is why should [Delmege Forsyth] not be given [a monopoly of salt] provided that it does no harm to the country and that they make it worthwhile to Government. I do not think personally that anyone could really complain if this salt were all sold to Delmege Forsyth. It would not harm anyone in the Hambantota district though it would prevent the Galle traders competing with the Company. I understand that the Company are pledged not to put up the price of salt, so that the absence of

competition would not entail hardship. Once that is ascertained, then the whole question should be treated purely as a matter of business and it is the commonest occurrence in business to sell cheaper to the purchaser in large quantities. . . . (Entry for February 28, 1909.)

The diaries reveal the basis of *The Village in the Jungle's* authenticity. Woolf's novel always seems to me more convincing, more authentic, than the famous *A Passage to India*. Forster gives the impression that he has imposed on his subject an over-simplified interpretation with, as a result, arbitrary contrasts of character and strained symbolism. Could a symbol be more forced than that of the horses breaking away from each other at the end of *A Passage to India*? There is none of this sort of literary straining for effect in Woolf's novel. Ceylonese readers are usually surprised that any outsider, especially a European, has been able to understand so well the natural environment, the ways of living and the modes of thinking and feeling of the Sinhalese peasant. Woolf knows intimately the speech of the people: the dialogue of *The Village in the Jungle* is rooted in the idiom of rural Sinhalese speech; its fidelity to this idiom was confirmed by Mr A. P. Gunaratna's Sinhalese translation of the novel, published in 1947. At the same time the English is not outlandish, but remains simple and forceful within the distinctively Sinhalese rhythm and turn of phrase—the speech of the crazed old beggar, quoted earlier, may be taken as an example. *The Village in the Jungle* is a first-class documentary: it gives a sensitive and intimate portrayal of a backward Asian community. I have tried to show, however, that it has much more than documentary interest and value. Through the lives and environment of a community in a remote village in the jungles of Ceylon, Leonard Woolf communicates an experience which seems to me not limited in relevance by place or social circumstance. He presents what may be called in general terms the tragic view of life with depth, seriousness, unity and vision.

NOTES

¹ Leonard Sidney Woolf was born in 25th November 1880, the son of a barrister, Sidney Woolf; he was educated at St. Paul's and at Trinity College, Cambridge. At the age of 24, that is in 1904, he joined the Ceylon Civil Service, and served in Ceylon till 1911. He has since been a prominent editor and publisher—editor of the *International Review* in 1919, and of the *International Section of the Contemporary Review*, 1920-21; literary editor of *The Nation* 1923-30; joint editor of the *Political Quarterly* since 1931. In 1918 he and Virginia founded the Hogarth Press.

Browning's 'The Ring and the Book'

² Leonard Woolf wrote *The Village in the Jungle* when he returned to England from Ceylon in 1912, after seven years in the Ceylon Civil Service. The novel was published in 1913, reprinted twice in the same year, again in 1925 and 1931, and republished in a New Phoenix Library Edition in 1951.

³ A formidable list of publications shows how energetic a writer Woolf has been in the field of political theory: *International Government* (1916); *Co-operation and the Future of Industry* (1918); *The Future of Constantinople* (1917); *Empire and Commerce in Africa* (1920); *Socialism and Cooperation* (1921); *Imperialism and Civilisation* (1928); *Quack, Quack* (1935); *The War for Peace* (1940); *Principia Politica* (1953); and *After the Deluge* (Vol. I, 1931; Vol. II, 1939). His one play, *The Hotel*, published in 1939, is a by-product of his preoccupation with political theory. It is a political melodrama concerning international traffic in ammunition.

⁴ I am indebted to Mr Basil Mendis of the Ceylon Civil Service for help in getting material from the diaries.

THE DISPOSITION OF IMAGES IN BROWNING'S 'THE RING AND THE BOOK'

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THE admirers of *The Ring and the Book* have probably done more damage than its detractors to its reputation as poetry as distinct from its reputation as eccentric narrative. The regrettable unanimity in regarding this poem as a disguised novel¹ commends it less than do the honest and ineluctable strictures of Gerard Manley Hopkins.² Even G. K. Chesterton, who called the poem Browning's greatest achievement, and was discerning enough to see that 'it was the telling, under alien symbols and the veil of a totally different story, the inner truth about his own greatest trial and hesitation', could also airily dismiss it as 'merely a sublime detective story';³ and Henry James paid it a tribute which, though graceful and delicate and remarkable enough, remains the tribute of a novelist to a fellow-craftsman.⁴ The list can be extended: there is no need to do so in order to make it clear that *The Ring and the Book* has been praised, but not as poetry.

On the other hand, Browning himself clearly conceived of the work not merely as a poem, but as his poetical masterpiece; and the contemporary reviewer in the *Athenaeum* who hailed it on its appearance as 'beyond all parallel the supremest poetical achievement of our time' agreed with him. An examination of the claims

of *The Ring and the Book* to be considered as poetry is needed. In this paper I do not propose anything as ambitious as a complete consideration of *The Ring and the Book* as poetry; granted Browning's intention to write poetry, I merely indicate some of the ways in which he uses imagery to that end.

My treatment of Browning's use of imagery in *The Ring and the Book* is obviously selective; many aspects of the nature and function of the poem's imagery are ignored; and no attempt is made to consider the imagery in relation to such other factors in the poem's construction as rhythm and sound. I have limited myself to a scrutiny of the leading image-motifs and of their interaction with the poem's basic narrative structure. An examination of the images used in *The Ring and the Book* reveals that Browning exercised great care and ingenuity in the choice and subordination of his images throughout this very long poem. It has previously been pointed out that there is a definite logical hierarchy of images in the poem.⁵ In the first place, there is the conceptual symbol from which the poem derives its title; then there are the dominant images of each of the twelve books, such as the feast of Book VIII and the garden of Book IX; and lastly there are the other varied image-themes of shifting importance. Among these last we may notice as being of special importance the recurrent figure of the jewel found in muck, the religious imagery particularly associated with Pompilia and Caponsacchi, and the conception of the poem's three central characters as princess, dragon, and St George:

I rise in your esteem, sagacious Sirs,
Stand up a renderer of reasons, not
The officious priest would personate Saint George
For a mock Princess in undragoned days—
What, the blood startles you? What, after all
The priest who needs must carry sword on thigh
May find imperative use for it? Then, there was
A Princess, was a dragon belching flame,
And should have been a Saint George also?

(VI, 1769-77)

Such a scheme serves very well as a preliminary statement of Browning's extremely careful disposition of imagery in his longest and most ambitious poem, but it by no means provides a complete analysis.

The dual symbol of ring and book which is used to integrate the psychological complexities of the narrative is itself far from simple in either conception or application. H. B. Charlton has demonstrated that the ring metaphor is essentially confused if not

confusing: the gold represents the truth of the events as they happened, while the alloy is both the historical impurity of the records and the contributing and transmuting power of the poet's imagination applied to the task of interpreting those records.⁶ This ambiguity in the poem's inclusive symbol (obviously an unintended ambiguity), which probably arises from that ambiguity of motive in the poet himself analysed by D. Smalley,⁷ does not in practice cause enough difficulty to bring about any hesitancy, merely because of the unsatisfactoriness of the symbol, in our acceptance of either symbol itself or the whole poem. In Browning's deliberate and ambitious use of this particular symbol we may emphasise aspects of more importance than the unresolved ambiguity. The gold ring itself,

The rondure brave, the liliated loveliness,
Gold as it was, is, shall be evermore:
Prime nature with an added artistry—⁸
(1,27-9)

embodies two symbolical concepts of essential and recurrent importance in Browning's poetry. The figure of the circle is to Browning, as it was to his admired Donne, a 'known ensign of perfection';⁹ his use of it here may be compared with that in *Abt Vogler*:

There shall never be one lost good! What was shall live as
before;
The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound;
What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so much good more;
On the earth the broken arcs; in the heaven, a perfect round.
(IX)

In addition, gold had for Browning a significance prominent in seventeenth century writings—an alchemical one. His choice of language shows that he was fully aware of this significance, and that he made deliberate use of it in this connection. In the lines just quoted from Book I, for example, he uses the alchemical term 'Prime nature' for the gold of the ring; and he similarly applies alchemical terms to *The Old Yellow Book*, as when he says, 'The thing's restorative' (I, 89-90), and when he talks of 'its medicinale leaves' (I, 774).¹⁰ Over and above this purely alchemical significance, gold possessed for Browning, as it has for many poets from Shakespeare to Edith Sitwell, a supreme symbolic value. This conception, on which he lays stress in the introductory and concluding books of *The Ring and the Book*; is expressed most succinctly in *The Two Poets of Croisic*:

But truth, truth, that's the gold! and all the good
I find in fancy is, it serves to set
God's inmost glint free, gold which comes up rude
And rayless from the mine. All fume and fret
Of artistry beyond this point pursued
Brings out another sort of burnish: yet
Always the ingot has its very own
Value, a sparkle struck from truth alone.

(CLII)

Browning's statement in *The Ring and the Book*, if not his conception, of the nature of poetic truth is, as Charlton has shown, confused, and even unconvincing when logically considered. It is rendered acceptable by the force of the dominant image of the poem's framework: an image embodying the two traditional concepts of the circle representing perfection and of gold signifying pure truth.

In the poem considered as a whole this dual symbolism of gold and circle is naturally dominant in Books I and XII, that is, in the setting of the story; and of less importance in the books in between which recount the narrative itself from their various viewpoints. There are, however, occasional references to this dual symbolism throughout the poem; and of these the most significant is Caponsacchi's blending of the gold symbolism with classical reminiscence:

then come all at once
O' the prize o' the place, the thing o' perfect gold.
The apple's self.

(VI, 1006-8)

It is, however, not so much the number of times this image is actually employed as the emphasis deliberately laid upon it and the structural position given to it, enclosing the whole complexity and narrative richness of the poem, that render it so primarily important. At the same time, it is probably a fair deduction that this double image is less important, because less inevitable, for the modern reader than it obviously was for the poet himself; and that its ultimate failure to impress as it is meant to do is, in part at least, a failure in execution by the poet. This sort of failure in poetic technique seems to me to be what Irving Babbitt had in mind when he said:~

The hybrid character of his art, due partly to a lack of outer form, to a defective poetic technique, arises even more from a lack of inner form—from an attempt to give a semblance of seriousness to what is at bottom unethical.¹¹

Browning's *'The Ring and the Book'*

Within the dominant circle of gold we may distinguish three leading imagery-motifs: light and fire (with which we may also associate the frequent images of colour); flowers and plants; and animal life, both real and fabulous. It is in the use and deployment of these motifs that Browning's poetic skill and mastery of his narrative theme become most apparent. In a poem of such great length it is, of course, inevitable that there should be a great number of images, derived from various sources, that cannot be subsumed under these three headings—headings which are in any case to a certain extent arbitrary. Among the images of frequent occurrence which are extraneous to these three leading motifs we may instance that already mentioned in which the three chief characters of the poem are seen as princess, dragon, and St George; the prolonged image of the feast in Book VIII; the images from art and the theatre; and those from hawking and the luring of birds. There are also throughout the poem many religious images, often interwoven with the dominant motifs; but this imagery, it seems to me, is not present as a motif itself, since to some extent its occurrence is dictated by the nature of the story and not by any specifically poetic necessity.¹² Thus does Caponsacchi employ the resurrection image:

Into another state, under new rule
I knew myself was passing swift and sure;
Whereof the initiatory pang approached.
Felicitous annoy, as bitter-sweet
 As when the virgin band, the victors chaste,
 Feel at the end the earthly garments drop.
 And rise with something of a rosy shame
 Into immortal nakedness:

(VI, 964-71)

Despite the presence in great number of these other images, it is remarkable how predominant Browning does make his leading motifs, and how he subordinates all his other varied imagery to them.

C. W. Smith has shown, in the study of Browning's star-imagery already referred to, that images of light play an important part in all of Browning's poetry, and nowhere more so than in *The Ring and the Book*.¹² Smith, indeed, characterizes the imagistic theme of this poem as a contrast between light and darkness. Although this description is accurate enough as far as it goes, it is a simplification of a poem which contains complexities other than the obvious narrative and psychological ones. The poem as a whole may be regarded as a working out of the ring and book

metaphor with its inherent associations of traditional symbol: in the actual process of extension and elaboration these images of light are obviously intended to be dominant. Animal images, it is true, are employed in greater abundance, but their use, as we shall see, is specifically limited.

The equation Light=Truth is an ancient one, and since Browning's professed concern in *The Ring and the Book*, as in much of his other poetry, is with truth,¹⁴ it is natural, if not inevitable, that the leading image-motif of this poem should be in terms of light and contrasting darkness. Furthermore, the essential luridness of the story Browning has chosen to tell lends itself readily to treatment in colour, to obvious and dramatic symbolisation in white and gold, red and black: the white chastity of Pompilia and the white light of the Pope's wisdom, the true gold of Caponsacchi's character, the redness of Pompilia's fate, and the black nature and black doom of Guido. The co-ordination of white light with truth is insistent throughout the poem, and for Caponsacchi and the Pope this white truth is supremely represented by Pompilia. Caponsacchi says:

There was I at the goal, before the gate,
With a tune in the ears, low leading up to loud,
A light in the eyes, faint that would soon be flare,
Ever some spiritual witness new and new
In faster frequency, crowding solitude
To watch the way o' the warfare,—till, at last,
When the ecstatic minute must bring birth,
Began a whiteness in the distance, waxed
Whiter and whiter, near grew and more near,
Till it was she: there did Pompilia come:
The white I saw shine through her was her soul's,
Certainly, for the body was one black,
Black from head down to foot.

(VI, 1132-44)

while the Pope pronounces her
Perfect in whiteness.

(X, 1005)

For Pompilia herself it is Caponsacchi who is the embodiment of white light and truth:

The glory of his nature, I had thought,
Shot itself out in white light, blazed the truth
Through every atom of his act with me:

(VII, 921-3)

Browning's 'The Ring and the Book'

Pompilia, in fact, uses many light-images, our impression of her character being partly determined by her doing so; but it is to the Pope that the greatest amount of light-imagery is allotted. The whole of Book X is suffused with light: the light of the Pope's unique wisdom bringing clarity and judgment to the darkness and confusion of human affairs. This imagery is finely summed up in the startling line in which the Pope envisages Caponsacchi's blind obedience to the truth and goodness he instinctively felt in Pompilia as the blindness of a man inside the sun,

Delirious with the plenitude of light.

(X, 1562)

Smith enumerates 32 instances of Browning's favourite star-image in *The Ring and the Book*, and says of its employment, "It is only when it is considered symbolically and structurally, rather than merely numerically, that its true significance is revealed."¹⁵ The star is usually seen as the lode-star of hope and aspiration, the symbol of poetry, of truth, and of good.¹⁶

Whatever love and faith we looked should spring
At advent of the authoritative star.

(X, 1547-8)

More particularly, the star is an image of Caponsacchi, especially to Pompilia and the Pope. There is also the Wormwood Star of Book XII:

So

Did the Star Wormwood in a blazing fall
Frighten awhile the waters and lie lost.

(XII, 823-5)

Important, however, as these images are, they are less so in themselves than as contributory factors to the pervasive and complex imagery of light which is found throughout the poem, and which is climactically expressed by the Pope:

Man's mind—what is it but a convex glass
Wherein are gathered all the scattered points
Picked out of the immensity of sky,
To reunite there, be our heaven on earth,
Our known unknown, our God revealed to man?

(X, 1310-14)

The images just discussed may be described as images of pure light. Associated with them are a variety of images of colour, of fire, and of darkness (the constituents of the imagistic theme of the poem as characterized by C. W. Smith). As light is the natural

element of Caponsacchi. Pompilia, and the Pope, so is darkness the inevitable environment of Guido:

Back he fell, was buttressed there
By the window all a-flame with morning red,
He the black figure, the opprobrious blur
Against all peace and joy and light and life.
(VI, 1524-7)

He needs some bone to mumble, help amuse
The darkness of his den with.
(X, 1462-3)

It is noticeable that both Caponsacchi and Guido employ rich images of light and colour in describing Pompilia:

There she lay,
Composed as when I laid her, that last eve,
O' the couch, still breathless, motionless, sleep's self,
Wax-white, seraphic, saturate with the sun
O' the morning that now flooded from the front
And filled the window with a light like blood.
(VI, 1515-20)

Give me my gorge of colour, glut of gold,
In a glory round the Virgin made for me!
(XI, 2117-8)

Why could she not come in some heart-shaped cloud,
Rainbowed about with riches, royalty
Rimming her round, as round the tintless lawn
Guardingly runs the selvage cloth of gold?
(XI, 2124-7)

At the beginning of Book XII the poet himself, in summarily describing the story he has told, uses the contrasting images of light and colour and darkness, the image themes he has used all through the poem to display his story, identify his characters, and symbolise good and evil.

The act, over and ended, falls and fades:
What was once seen, grows what is now described,
Then talked of, told about, a tinge the less
In every fresh transmission; till it melts,
Trickles in silent orange or wan grey
Across our memory, dies and leaves all dark.
And presently we find the stars again.

Browning's 'The Ring and the Book'

Follow the main streaks, meditate the mode
Of brightness, how it hastes to blend with black!
(XII, 13-21)

A more effective summary of the poem's main image-themes is, however, put by The Other Half-Rome into the mouth of Pompilia in some of the poem's most moving lines:

Then something like a white wave o' the sea
Broke o'er my brain and buried me in sleep
Blessedly, till it ebbed and left me loose,
And where was I found but on a strange bed
In a strange room like hell, roaring with noise,
Ruddy with flame.

(III, 1147-52)

Pompilia is, as we have seen, closely associated with the image-theme of light and colour, as she also is with the jewel image,¹⁹ but the image which is most constantly applied to her by the other speakers in the poem is that of the flower or the growing plant. Both The Other Half-Rome and Tertium Quid instinctively compare her to a flower:

The woman who wakes all this rapture leaned
Flower-like from out her window. . . .

(III, 71-2)

And then the sudden existence, dewy-dear,
O' the rose above the dunghheap,

(IV, 246-7)

The strange tall pale beautiful creature grown
Lily-like out o' the cleft i' the sun-smit rock
To bow its white miraculous birth of buds
I' the way of wandering Joseph and his spouse—

(IV, 322-5)

Even Guido, who usually thinks and talks in animal terms, once calls her 'that sweet tremulous flower-like wife' (V, 1848)—though it is to be noticed that the words occur in an imagined speech of which he deems the court incapable. To the Pope, Pompilia is 'earth's flower' (X, 1017) and 'My flower./My rose' (X, 1045-6). The Pope also significantly uses an elaborate and ornate flower-image in thinking of Caponsacchi:

And if

At any fateful moment of the strange
Adventure, the strong passion of that strait,

Fear and surprise, may have revealed too much,—
As when a thundrous midnight, with black air
That burns, rain-drops that blister, breaks a spell,
Draws out the excessive virtue of some sheathed
Shut unsuspected flower that hoards and hides
Immensity of sweetness, so, perchance,
Might the surprise and fear release too much
The perfect beauty of the body and soul
Thou saved'st in thy passion for God's sake.

(X, 1170-81)

The book allotted to Pompilia herself is naturally full of this flower and plant imagery.

Do not the dead wear flowers when dressed for God?
Say,— I am all in flowers from head to foot!
Say,— not one flower of all he said and did,
Might seem to flit unnoticed, fade unknown.
But dropped a seed has grown a balsam-tree
Whereof the blossoming perfumes the place
At this supreme of moments!

(VII, 1815-21)

Pompilia consistently uses these images in reference to herself.

God plants us where we grow.
It is not that, because a bud is born
At a wild briar's end, full i' the wild beast's way,
We ought to pluck and put it out of reach
On the oak-tree top,—

(VII, 301-5)

(The wild briar-slip she plucked to love and wear)
(VII, 330)

The saints must bear with me, impute the fault
To a soul i' the bud, so starved by ignorance.
Stinted of warmth, it will not blow this year
Nor recognise the orb which Spring-flowers know.
(VII, 1515-18)

The flower image is thus employed generally in the poem, with effect if without any great subtlety, to characterise the innocence and purity of the heroine, Pompilia. In addition, the dominant image of Book IX (Bottini) is, delightfully, a garden.

If I might read instead of print my speech,—
Ay, and enliven speech with many a flower

Browning's *'The Ring and the Book'*

Refuses obstinately blow in print
As wildings planted in a prim parterre,—
(IX, 2-5)

Numerically, the most important image-theme in *The Ring and the Book* is the animal one; and it is perhaps dominant in effect also, though it seems that Browning did not intend this to be so. (It is reasonable to suppose that Browning intended his light symbolism to be the poem's dominant imagistic effect.) Anything approaching a complete enumeration or classification of the animal images in *The Ring and the Book* would be outside the scope of this paper, and I make only some general indications.

The animal image has two main functions: it is used to characterise Guido; and it is used in implicit contrast to the imagery of light which suffuses the poem—the light of wisdom and of innocence contrasted with dark passion, animality, the sordid aspects of the story. In the characterisation of Guido its use is straightforward and insistent. The Other Half-Rome makes Pompilia call Guido

The beast below the beast in brutishness!
(III, 1299)

Tertium Quid likens him to a bull (IV, 1559-79); Caponsacchi calls him 'beast' (VI, 1493) and 'mad dog' (VI, 1513), and compares him to a snake (VI, 1924 ff.), going on to picture his meeting with Judas,

The cockatrice is with the basilisk!
(VI, 1950)

The Pope, who is, of course, credited with the poet's own insight into the natures of the other characters, consistently uses animal and insect images in speaking of Guido.

Already is the slug from out its mew,
Ignobly faring with all loose and free,
Sand-fly and slush-worm at their garbage-feast.
A naked blotch no better than they all.
(X, 496-9)

Edged in a month by strenuous cruelty
From even the poor nook whence they watched the wolf
Feast on their heart, the lamb-like child his prey.
(X, 556-8)

He needs some bone to mumble, help amuse
The darkness of his den with.
(X, 1462-3)

These animal images occur frequently throughout the poem, but they are most numerous in the books allocated to Guido himself and to his lawyer. Dominus Hyacinthus De Archangeli. This is indeed Browning's most striking imaginative effect in the whole poem: not only do all the other characters instinctively see Guido as something animal, but his essentially brutish nature is brought out and emphasised by the fact that he himself consistently thinks and speaks in animal terms, and so to a great extent does the lawyer who is defending him. Guido sees himself as a lion lured into a pit (V, 797-8); Caponsacchi is a gad-fly attacking him (V, 912); a worm gnaws through his (Guido's) skin and flesh to his marrow (V, 1485-88); he stumbles on a serpent (V, 1659-60). The desperate ravings of Book XI are still more packed with animal imagery.

We have the prodigal son of heavenly sire,
Turning his nose up at the fatted calf,
Fain to fill belly with the husks we swine
Did eat by born depravity of taste!
Enough of the hypocrites. But you, Sirs, you—
Who never budged from litter where I lay,
And buried snout i' the draff-box while I fed,
(XI, 760-66)

Oh, I must needs o' the sudden prove a lynx
(XI, 917)

She eyes me with those frightened balls of black,
As heifer—the old simile comes pat—
Eyes tremblingly the altar and the priest:
(XI, 976-8)

How name you the whole beast?
You choose to name the body from one head,
That of the simple kid which droops the eye,
Hangs the neck and dies tenderly enough:
I rather see the griesly lion belch
Flame out i' the midst, the serpent writhe her rings,
Grafted into the common stock for tail,
And name the brute, Chimaera, which I slew!
(XI, 1118-25)

Whose swine-like snuffling greed and grunting lust
(XI, 1500)

Let me turn wolf, be whole, and sate, for once,—
(XI, 2054)

Browning's '*The Ring and the Book*'

It scarcely needs saying that Browning has not Shakespeare's consummate skill in the manipulation of poetic imagery and in the differentiation of character as well as the statement of themes by means of that manipulation. In *The Ring and the Book* Browning does, however, achieve certain broad and definite effects in the interlocked development of his narrative and his characters by means of his imagery. For instance, with the one exception of Pompilia, all the characters, including Guido himself, consistently portray Guido in animal terms. Conversely, only Guido, who sees everything in animal terms, applies animal images to Pompilia, and even he also talks of her in the usual flower terms. There is nothing particularly subtle in these effects; indeed subtlety is precluded by the nature of Browning's conception of his poem as 'truth' and, probably, by his identification, whether conscious or unconscious, of the story with his own most important experience. In sustaining his narrative, however, in differentiating his characters, including the minor ones, and in maintaining the reader's interest and sympathy, Browning's image effects serve their purpose.

We may agree with Hopkins, Babbitt, and Santayana that *The Ring and the Book* is a failure. In seeking to elucidate the nature of that failure we may, with some aptness and usefulness, apply to the poem I. A. Richards's classification of the four aspects of meaning.²⁰ Browning's *sense* in this poem is then his basic narrative structure. His *feeling* is illustrated in the disposition of his image-motifs, particularly of the animal one, and in his religious and knight-princess-dragon images, and also in his essentially romantic symbol of the jewel found in muck:

Motherhood like a jewel in the muck.²¹

(II, 565)

Under *tone* we may note the careful, if unsubtle, differentiation of the characters by means of both the images they use themselves and those used of them by the other characters and by the poet speaking in his own person. It is in his *intention* that Browning is least convincing and least successful:

. . . It is the glory and the good of Art,
That Art remains the one way possible
Of speaking truth,

(XII, 838-40)

and it is this intention which keeps the poem, in richness and complexity, below the level of the greatest poetry.²² The failure of the poem is not primarily in its images, but in the narrative itself which, despite the brilliance of its parts, does not convince as a

whole. We can accept the ring metaphor as a figure: what we cannot accept is Browning's clumsy attempt at a philosophy of history or his reconstructed psychology. In other words, and on the poet's own grounds, if the story may really have been like this, then also it may not, and Pompilia an arrant slut after all. It only needs another Browning to rewrite it that way.

This flaw in the structure of the poem does imply a defect in the imagery used. There is nothing of what Hopkins called 'under-thought'²³ in *The Ring and the Book*. The imagery is certainly effective on its own level, and it is carefully subordinated in design; but it is all external and on the surface. In particular, the gold and ring figures seem extraneous and imposed, used arbitrarily instead of arising out of poetic necessity. It seems more appropriate to attribute this to a failure in technique rather than to the essential superficiality of Browning's mind. Semantic activity is noticeably absent from all of Browning's poetry; in *The Ring and the Book* the most remarkable defect for such a long, ambitious, and, within its limits, skilfully written poem is the absence of metaphoric activity: his images do not, in general, become symbols, nor does his imagery as a whole attain the stature of myth. Not only does Browning lack the mythopoeic faculty: he seems to have no conception of the nature and necessity of myth in poetry. In a sense, his poetry is the most private ever written, because all of his images are essentially private.

'The realism of the story is the realism of its source', says Smalley.²⁴ As has often been pointed out,²⁵ Browning transformed that source, and in so doing produced one of the nineteenth century's most interesting and effective long poems. In that transformation his imagery was his readiest instrument. His use of images throughout the poem is consistent and consistently effective, but he fails to rise to the heights in the conception and manipulation of images and image-themes.

NOTES

¹ A typical example is provided by: 'Most of *The Ring and the Book*, Browning's greatest venture, is a feat of intellect rather than a poem; and, in spite of the blank verse, much of the interest is that of a novel.' Elton, O. *The English Muse* (London, Bell, 1933) p. 357.

² Abbott, C. C. ed. *The Correspondence of Gerard Manley Hopkins and Richard Watson Dixon* (Oxford, O.U.P. 1935), p. 70. Hopkins did not read all the poem. *ibid.*, p. 74.

³ Chesterton, G. K., *Robert Browning*, (London, Macmillan, 1905) p. 106. pp. 107-8, and p. 105.

Browning's 'The Ring and the Book'

⁴James, H., 'The Novel in *The Ring and the Book*,' *Notes on Novelists*, (London, Dent, 1914). See especially p. 309, p. 314, p. 316, and p. 321.

⁵Smith, C. W. *Browning's Star-Imagery*. (Princeton Studies in English, vol. 21, 1941), pp. 194-5.

⁶Charlton, H. B., 'Poetry and Truth', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 28 (1944), cf. Dowden, E. *Introduction* to the Oxford edition of the poem (1912), p. ix.

⁷Smalley, D. ed. *Browning's Essay on Chatterton*, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard U.P., 1948), p. 77.

⁸All the quotations from *The Ring and the Book* are from the Oxford edition cited in note 6. Other quotations from Browning's poetry are from the edition in two volumes published by Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1896.

⁹The phrase is used by Ben Jonson in the Gloss to his *Masque of Beauty* with reference to the zodiac and the compass.

¹⁰Cf. VIII, 383-402, and X, 1613-22.

¹¹Babbitt, L., *Rousseau and Romanticism*, (New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1919), p. 213.

¹²Cf. Stoll, E. E., 'Symbolism in Shakespeare', *Modern Language Review*, xlii (1947).

¹³esp. p. 197 and p. 224.

¹⁴—All for the truth's sake, mere truth, nothing else!—I, 881.

¹⁵p. 197.

¹⁶This image of the lode-star occurs as early as *Pauline*.

¹⁷Smith in a full discussion of this passage links it with Browning's earlier poetry, especially with *A Death in the Desert* and *Sordello*. See pp. 208-44. All the imagery of Book X may be generally compared with that of *Sordello*, Book IV.

¹⁸Cf. III, 1189-91.

¹⁹Cf. IX, 191-210.

²⁰Richards, I. A., *Practical Criticism*, (London, Kegan Paul, 1930), p. 181.

²¹Cf. IX, 1026, and 'the rose above the dung-heap' of IV, 247.

²²Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 218, finds the poem's basic design to be logical, not imagistic as in *Pauline*.

²³Abbott, C. C., ed. *Further Letters of G. M. Hopkins*, (Oxford O.U.P. 1938), pp. 105-6. ' . . . two strains of thought running together and like counterpointed: the overthought . . . which might for instance be abridged or paraphrased . . . the underthought, conveyed chiefly in the choice of metaphors etc. used and often only half realised by the poet himself . . . an undercurrent of thought governing the choice of images used.'

²⁴p. 15.

²⁵e.g. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 224. 'With regard to the source of *The Ring and the Book*, the evidence that we have found has pointed again and again to the importance of Browning's earlier works, and to his experience in composing these earlier works, as the source of the cumulative force and the vast store of ideas which transformed *The Old Yellow Book* into *The Ring and the Book*.'

BOOK REVIEWS

THE CATULLAN REVOLUTION. K. F. Quinn. Melbourne University Press. 1959, pp. 119.

IT is a pity that Mr Quinn has adopted Callimachus' view that μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν : we need more of such a book as this and more such books. Mr Quinn is attempting something which is not often enough attempted in classical studies—literary criticism. He states his principles of criticism, as many who insert covert judgments amid a mass of philological and historical material do not; and he offers discussion instead of the adjectives which are the usual medium of such criticism. It may indeed be questioned whether literary criticism of ancient authors is possible at all. Can there be any real inwardness with 'languages that want the living voice to carry meaning to the natural heart'? Can there be such analyses of Latin and Greek poetry as those we find, for example, in Empson's *Seven Types of Ambiguity*? Advocates of English as the central discipline of education think not, a view which is shared by many classical scholars. The latter however show a lack of consistency: they often persist in advocating the retention of classics as the supremely humane (not simply a supremely rigorous) discipline. Yet if no critical discriminations can be made, then as a humane education classics must be found wanting, whatever its other virtues. Fortunately there are those like Quinn who believe otherwise, and books written in the spirit of *The Catullan Revolution* will ultimately decide whether in fact (as one critic has put it) 'the common result of a classical education . . . is to incapacitate from contact with literature for life'.

Quinn is very much aware of what he is doing. Much of what has passed for criticism of classical authors was unconsciously affected by critical principles which display a profound incomprehension of what poetry is: Quinn disposes succinctly of the autobiographical assumption and such pseudo-problems as the question of *sincerity* (and here he carries further the excellent work of such American critics as Elder, Allen and Copley). The Romantic canons of criticism, one of the least likely sets of critical principles to throw light on *any* classical author, have been a particularly great obstacle in the way of an understanding of Catullus. Quinn replaces these by more modern insights into the relation of a poet to his tradition, and the relation of poetic impulse to poetic technique. Above all, he accepts the poem itself as the analysand, not some event or state of mind which is in some way communicated through it.

With this critical equipment, he begins by sketching the three traditions which unite in Catullus, rightly stressing what has been frequently underrated—the Roman contribution—and goes on to show how Catullus himself inaugurated the specifically Roman tradition of a highly personal poetry. His first approach to the difficult critical problem posed by the Catullan *oeuvre* as a whole, with all its disparity and variety, is to discuss the varying levels of *intent* represented in it. From a general discussion of the characteristics of the *poetae novi*, he moves on to the dichotomy alleged between Catullus the Alexandrian and Catullus the *urwüchsige Naturbursch*. Twenty years ago Havelock attempted to bridge this gap by stressing the sophistication and technique of the apparently spontaneous short poems. Quinn attempts to show how very personal is the treatment of the impersonal subjects of the longer poems: the two aspects of the poet's work are brought together finally by an analysis of the language and technique

which reveals their similarity. In chapter V, Quinn assesses the individual contribution of Catullus to Roman poetry, something which can be lost sight of if the insistence on the importance of tradition is taken too far. Catullus' greatness as a poet as well as his importance as an innovator is properly emphasized by some perceptive remarks on the Elegists. Catullus provided them with a poetic model that entailed in their work limitations which it would have taken an equal genius to transcend (and this is reminiscent of other poetic revolutions, not least in English literature). Chapter VI deals with the resemblances and differences between the personal short poem in Catullus and in modern poetry.

Such a brief outline as this cannot of course do justice to the illuminating remarks which Quinn makes on almost every page and in many of the notes. Some of his analyses and views will naturally provoke disagreement; it is impossible to find real criticism which does not. It may be felt that some of the slighter poems are over-valued. Yet here it should be noted that Quinn has grasped the nettle of obscenity very courageously. Indeed one could wish that he had allowed himself space to discuss in general terms the question (particularly vexed in classical writings) of obscenity and art. In fact, that is the one real grievance the reviewer is left with—that Mr Quinn's book is not far longer than it is; it is as though he has been content to adumbrate an approach to Catullus rather than provide us with complete access to the poems. One would have liked, for example, much longer analyses to bridge the gulf between the longer and the shorter poems. Perhaps because of this self-imposed limitation, Quinn has contented himself with a good deal of literary shorthand. *Modern poetry*, for instance, can be an ambiguous term: much might depend on whether a reference is intended to the revolution of Pound and Eliot, or to such poets as Auden, Graves and their like. This limited space seems responsible too for the inadequate deployment of such modern poets as he selects for comparison with Catullus and illustration of his points. One would have liked much fuller discussions of those selected and more critical distinctions made between the two terms of the comparison. I found the use made of Graves on pp. 60-1 unhelpful for this reason: I could not help wondering whether to illustrate *crispness* and the use of *colloquial language* in poetry a far better poem could not have been found in almost any range of English poetry—colloquial language so used is not simply a matter of ordinary words.

One of the great difficulties Quinn has had to content with is the matter of a critical language suitable for discussing classical authors—and this is not to detract from what he has managed to achieve in the face of it. Some modern critical assumptions can be carried over without loss—our idea of what a poem is, for instance. But inevitably one has to make do with some unhelpful critical currency (*lyric impulse*, e.g.) or with inventions like *littérature pure*, whose connotations (deriving presumably from Valéry's *la poésie pure* and Sartre's *littérature engagée*) are not immediately clear in the context, if anything other than poetry on private as opposed to public themes is meant. Similarly, as we have no useful term in English for short poems of the sort Quinn is discussing, he has to make do with the term *lyric* (not a term, I would argue, that modern poets use except when referring to songs in musical comedy and so on, and Wordsworth's use of the adjective in *Lyrical Ballads* does not really clarify it). Because of the confused aura which persists in clinging to the word, it rather stands in the way of critical clarity. This is a problem which must one day be tackled. It is all the more creditable then that despite all this

Mr Quinn has provided us with what goes a long way towards a genuinely helpful understanding of Catullus.

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J. P. SULLIVAN

CLASSICAL EDUCATION IN BRITAIN 1500-1900. M. L. Clarke. *Cambridge University Press*, 1959.

'It might have been better for classical studies if they had been less securely established' (p. 75). Professor Clarke is speaking of the position in England in the early nineteenth century: but many a teacher will feel that the words apply even more to the end of that century and the beginning of this one. So it is with many sections of this book—a classics teacher can hardly read it without examining his conscience and his curriculum.

The book itself is little more than a record of who taught what branches of classics, and where, and when. One could wish that more attention had been paid to 'why' and 'how', though these topics are by no means neglected. Professor Clarke begins with the foundation of St Paul's School in 1509 under the inspiration of Erasmus, and traces the changes in classical curricula and teaching methods in English schools and universities for four centuries. There are two chapters briefly surveying the fortunes of classics in Scotland and Trinity College, Dublin, over the same period. The final chapter discusses the values that each succeeding age found in the classics, with some reflections on their value today.

Modern teachers will be led to examine their consciences as they read, but not because the book is polemical or hortatory. It is a detailed and sober chronicle of fact; the facts themselves are the stimulus to soul-searching. When we are told the methods of a 16th century English grammar school, and realize that they are still the methods of 20th century Australian universities; that 'the composition of Latin and Greek verse (is) the characteristic feature of English education' in the 17th century and long thereafter; that the emphasis on prose and verse composition was attacked vigorously by such minds as Milton, Locke and Comenius—one wonders whether we have changed anything, or whether the classics are capable of change.

Professor Clarke deserves our gratitude for exposing the original purposes of so many now hoary features of classical teaching, and enabling us to judge whether they retain their original values. He helps us by pointing out what merits different great minds found in the classics taught in these various ways. It would have been interesting—if it were possible—to see what merits the minds of the majority, the not-so-great, the pass students, found in methods which might well have been excellent for honours.

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R. JOHNSON

THE LATIN LOVE ELEGY. Georg Luck. *London, Methuen*, 1959, pp. 182.

THIS is a puzzling, at times exasperating, book. Yet it is the work clearly of a knowledgeable and sensible scholar and those who persist with his ill-ordered discussion of Roman elegy will find things worth knowing and opinions worth accepting.

The framework is impeccable. A brief introduction, a chapter on

Greek elegy and another on the beginnings of the form at Rome, and then two chapters devoted to each of the three great Roman exponents of the genre, Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid, and an extra chapter on the minor authors of the *corpus Tibullianum*. A short bibliography refers to articles as well as books, but looks oddly slapdash (e.g., L.'s statement under Tibullus that Heyne and Wunderlich's 1817 commentary is 'still preferable to the more recent ones'; no mention of Némethy. Smith and Serra, all valuable in their way; no reference either to the important studies of Cartault and Schuster).

What L. intended to do within this framework is not clear. His preface is unenlightening, the publisher's blurb misleading. He concerns himself mainly with literary history, but does not write with the rigorous discipline needed to make a useful historical survey. Chapter 3, for example, which deals with the pre-Augustan elegiac poetry, lacks any proper chronological arrangement. Chapter 2 attempts to sum up sixty years of controversy, but Leo's famous hypothesis of 1895, postulating an Alexandrian subjective love elegy of which he supposed Roman elegy to be a mere copy, is not even stated. A. A. Day's on the whole sensible review of the facts (*The Origin of Latin Love Elegy*, 1938) is mentioned only in the bibliography (where it is simply described as 'informative'). We are left with the feeling that, if Rostagni's emphatic dismissal of Leo's hypothesis ('L'elegia erotica latina', Fondation Hardt, *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*, II, 1956) made things too simple, L. has simply reintroduced confusion. The annoying thing is that one feels L. could have done the job better. His opinions on details of literary history are reasonable and plausible. He is particularly good at interpreting the ancient *testimonia*. Students, however, will find it hard to profit from a survey so deficient in orderly arrangement, while the scholar who is not a specialist is likely to be misled by L.'s tendency not to distinguish between accepted fact and controversial inference. Here are the opening lines of Chapter 4:

When Tibullus died in 19 B.C. he was, according to a contemporary poem, still *iuvenis*, a 'young man'. This means that he was not born before 55 B.C. Horace addresses him in two poems in a friendly, but slightly patronizing (perhaps fatherly) tone, as an older man speaks to a younger friend. . .

Now, to begin with, that Tibullus died in 19 B.C. is less than certain. The only evidence is provided by what L. here calls 'a contemporary poem' and a little later 'an elegiac fragment by Domitius Marsus'—though the name Domitius Marsus is not found in any surviving manuscript, the ascription being based on Scaliger's assertion in 1577 that the name appeared in the now lost *Fragmentum Cuiacianum*. The little poem merely says that unkind death sent Tibullus to be Virgil's companion (*comitem*) among the shades. Virgil died on 21 September 19 B.C., but it is not clear whether Domitius Marsus (if it is Domitius Marsus) meant to imply that Virgil and Tibullus journeyed to death together (which is what L. is assuming), or merely that Tibullus rejoined his friend Virgil in the after-life. In the second case, a considerable interval between their deaths is reconcilable with the statement made. To pass on: *iuvenis* is misleadingly translated as 'young man'. L. is perhaps thinking of the final sentence of the *Vita* which follows the epigram in the Mss.: *obiit adolescens ut indicat epigramma supra scriptum*. Finally, the poet addressed by Horace in *Odes* 1, 33 and *Epistles* 1, 4 is called simply Albius. Most scholars take Albius to be Albius Tibullus, though not all. I am only trying to show how complex the work of the classical literary historian is. L. is not necessarily wrong

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in any of his statements. My complaints are: (1) The impression given of certain fact is misleading. (2) It is made difficult for the non-expert to discover what the evidence is for the statements made. A more serious blemish, however, is L.'s tendency to deal with insufficient subtlety with the whole historical problem, which involves a developing awareness in the Roman poets of the possibilities of a genre that only began to take shape as they used it. L. talks at times as though love elegy, like a Platonic idea, existed all the time, so that it can be asked at any point to what extent a particular poet conformed to an existing pattern.

The chapters on Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid are concerned more to use the poetry in order to make statements about the lives and personalities of the poets than with analysis of the poetry or critical appraisal. In two chapters on Tibullus there is no quotation longer than two and a half lines. The chapter entitled 'The Art of Tibullus' contains only four quotations, though much space is taken up with brief *résumés*. The other chapter (on Alexandrian themes) deals with two elegies only. One (1, 7) is not a love elegy at all, and the other (1, 4) deals with homosexual love—a suitable poem to choose for the study of Alexandrian themes, but L. should have pointed out that this theme is really alien to the spirit of Roman love poetry, being confined to the more servile Roman imitations of Greek poetry. The chapters dealing with Propertius suffer from similar defects. The chapters on Ovid are in this respect very much better—the last few pages of Chapter 9 and most of Chapter 10 contain interesting and stimulating comment and are the best thing in the book.

When it comes to evaluating the work of the three Roman elegists, L. has difficulty in effacing personal prejudices. He likes Ovid, though he is apt to see *Weltanschauung* where Ovid meant only brilliant paradox. He does not like Propertius:

Propertius' choice of words and images is so daring that his context is often almost unintelligible. He tries to say too much at the same time; he heaps allusion upon allusion and suddenly, involved in the difficulties he has created for himself, simply changes the subject. (p. 113)

He attempts to compensate for this crossly unsympathetic note by phrases like 'the rich texture of his imagery' (p. 114), but it is clear that he does not understand a poet who prefers disordered complexity to orderly simplicity. There is no attempt to assess what Propertius' poetry gains from verbal difficulty or the extent to which tortuous language and abrupt transitions create the illusion of psychological turmoil and the sudden switches in attitude that spring from strongly felt emotion.

On the other hand, it is easy to be fair to Tibullus. Somehow Tibullus always gets the benefit of the doubt in literary histories. It is time somebody gave substantial reasons for not regarding him as a conventional second-rater. Let us be honest about Roman poetry. The odes of Horace and the elegies of Propertius bear the clear stamp of intellectual vigour and original craftsmanship. By comparison I personally find Tibullus diffuse, cliché-ridden and immemorable. Scholars ever since Quintilian have praised his elegance and restraint. They must be prepared by now for rejoinders as irreverent as Roy Campbell's on some South African novelists:

You praise the firm restraint with which they write—
I'm with you there, of course:
They use the snaffle and the curb all right,
But where's the bloody horse?

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ANCRENE WISSE: ed. Geoffrey Shepherd: *Squier Meldrum* by Sir David Lindsay; ed. James Kinsley. *Nelson's Medieval and Renaissance Library*, 1959.

THESE two books form an excellent beginning to Nelson's Medieval and Renaissance Library. Both are fine editions, but show an interesting contrast in editorial practice.

Geoffrey Shepherd edits Parts 6 and 7 of the *Ancrene Wisse* with careful and conscientious attention to detail. He has chosen these, on Penance and on Love, because he claims they are the culmination of the whole work, and certainly the theme of the book seems to be summed up in Part 6 (page 10, line 27) 'Ne wene nan wid este stihen to heouene'. The whole of the anchorite life is Penance, and so it should be for this is the way to heaven and the Love of God.

Shepherd's introduction not only deals with the manuscripts, language, date and authorship (including an account of the author's reading), but also has a brief discussion of the eremitical life leading into a synopsis of the *Ancrene Wisse* itself, which shows the importance of Parts 6 and 7 and is followed by an exhaustive account of the themes of these two parts—the penitential life, asceticism, the vision of God, purity of heart, love of God, *memoria Jesu Christi*, the nature of Love and relation to mysticism. This discussion, together with the notes on the text, traces practically every statement of the author to its probable source, and succeeds in giving the reader a mosaic picture of the religious thought of the twelfth century, but the *Ancrene Wisse* itself, written for a 'feminine audience which might be literate, but which was certainly unlearned, averagely sentimental, and intellectually unsophisticated' (page li) is lost sight of under this burden of learning. It is a relief to come at last to the text, which seems much less complicated and difficult than Shepherd implies (page xl ff).

This is not to suggest that the editor has wasted his time in compiling his notes and writing his introduction which he cross-references so carefully. All must admire the meticulous way in which his argument is presented, and the knowledge which makes his notes, discussion and bibliography a treasury of information and references for which students of twelfth and thirteenth century religious works will be grateful. But the last part of the introduction—the art of composition, dealing with the structure of the argument, manner of address, verbal composition and imagery—is more in keeping with the tone of the *Ancrene Wisse* itself. Here there is a note of enthusiasm, somewhat lacking elsewhere, which shows that this was a labour of love for the editor. It is an excellent if all too brief description of the style of the work and is a better preparation for the enjoyment of the *Ancrene Wisse* than the noting of the source of every statement, interesting though this may be for the scholar.

The notes are not confined to questions of theology and the history of religious thought (references range from *The History of Epidemics in Britain* through Saints' Lives and St Bernard's works to *The English Traveller to Italy*) but they are most helpful on grammatical points too, with good discussions of difficult words such as *deale* and *wid lihtleapes*. Some are unnecessary, e.g. 10 29ff, but together with the glossary they form a complete guide to the meaning of the text. The language expert will miss O.E. forms in the glossary, and the use of illustrative examples in the language section, both of which are otherwise excellent.

It is a pity though, that in such a work as this, *On God Ureisun of Ure*

Lefdi should be abbreviated as *OoLa* (cf. *HoLa* for *On Lofsong of Ure Lefdi*, *WoLd* for Anglo-Saxon *Wohunge of Ure Lauerd*, etc., page xiii) particularly as these abbreviations, formed from the modern English version of their titles, are not, I think, used beyond the page on which they are explained.

Sir David Lindsay's *Squyer Meldrum* is edited by James Kinsley, who is content to let the work speak for itself as much as possible. Of course, *The Historie* and *The Testament* are much more straightforward than the *Ancrene Wisse* and have attracted fewer books and articles, so that a mere 64 pages of apparatus can cope adequately with 50 pages of text, compared with 149 for the 29 pages of the *Ancrene Wisse*.

In his introduction, Professor Kinsley gives a brief description of the poem and its first edition, a sketch of Lindsay's life which is tantalizingly short, a paragraph on Meldrum's life, analyses of the story of *The Historie* and its truth, the literary category to which it belongs, its antecedents and its relation to chivalric romances, the vocabulary and language, followed by three short paragraphs on *The Testament*. All this is informative, concise and to the point, but leaves the reader wanting to know more. However, there are the references in notes and introduction as well as the bibliography to help him in his search for more information. The glossary, which claims to include 'words now obsolete or only dialectal, the special or obsolete senses of words still in use, difficult spellings, and proper names' is good, but should contain the words *wailzeand* and *feistis* unless a note on early Scots is added to future editions. Although the reader is referred to G. Gregory Smith's *Specimens of Middle Scots*, there is nothing in this edition on Scottish grammar and orthography, and a page spent on this would be welcome.

Apart from throwing light on technical terms and the more difficult lines in the text, as well as the historical background of Meldrum's affairs, the notes deal mainly with words and phrases that are common to Romance, listing their occurrence in other poems. This has the effect of fitting the work into its proper place in the history of chivalric romances, without taking the reader's attention too far away from the poem itself. The same sort of effect is achieved by the *Ancrene Wisse* notes, and I imagine that this stress on the traditional element in thought and phrase is an important part of editorial policy in this series. Strangely enough, it does not destroy the impression of freshness and originality that both works give the reader.

The two books more than fulfil the promise set out on the dust jackets: 'Texts chosen for NMRL are short, usually not more than 2,000 lines of verse or 40 pages of prose. Where possible they are presented complete. Where length precludes this full treatment, extended, representative, integral sections are given. The distinctive feature of the series is the comprehensiveness of the *Introduction* and *Notes* to each text. In them recent research and criticisms are used, discussed, and developed. A wide range of background material is in each case assembled, sifted, and presented in convenient form.'

It only remains to add that the books are neat and a pleasure to look at and handle. There is, however, one flaw in their format—the notes are printed in such small type that a conscientious study of them will almost certainly end in a headache, at least for those of us who are not blessed with perfect natural sight. For this reason, I think it is a pity that this series is not in the same format as Nelson's Medieval classics, but otherwise there can be no complaint about the books' appearance, and

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indeed, a headache is a small price to pay for the enjoyment and profit to be had from *Ancrene Wisse* and *Squyer Meldrum*.

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LENORE HARTY

DONNE AND THE DRURYS. R. C. Bald. *Cambridge University Press*, 1959, pp. 176.

THE name of John Donne is placed first in Professor Bald's title, not because the greater part of his book is about Donne, but because the Drurys are interesting to students of literature mainly on Donne's account, and also perhaps because this book is an off-shoot of Bald's work on the full biography of the poet which he is preparing. There is indeed a good deal of new information about Donne, but the poet is for most of the time in the wings; the Drury family holds the stage almost throughout. Nor is this surprising or, finally, disappointing. When Bald took up his present post in Chicago, he found in the University Library the bulk of the surviving documents from the muniment room of Redgrave Hall in Suffolk, seat of the younger Sir Nicholas Bacon; his eldest daughter married Sir Robert Drury, Donne's patron, and on her death her brother Sir Edmund Bacon, also her executor and residuary legatee, brought Lady Drury's papers to Redgrave. The inventory of these papers listed as one item '25 old Letters sowed together of Mr Jo. Donne'; apparently Lady Drury thought enough of the poet's correspondence to bestow upon it a care given to none of the other letters she preserved; but, alas, having been sewn together they were lost together. Nevertheless, as he was looking through the Drury papers, never before thoroughly examined, Bald came across a scrap of paper among them bearing Donne's handwriting; and his book is the result of a close study of the documents at Chicago, and of following up elsewhere the clues which they provided.

The result is a fairly full account of the fortunes of the Drury family from about 1500 to the time of Lady Drury's death (1624). The book is an interesting addition to the evidence concerning 'the rise of the gentry'; and the author has been at pains to select from the documents the most important facts of interest in the political, religious, economic and social history of the period. Most readers will no doubt find some of the details of mere antiquarian interest; but no literary student will fail to find every now and then something that brings to life the milieu of the Elizabethan author. It may be a letter from the Queen herself to 'my Besse' (p.18), Sir Robert Drury's mother (a Lady of the Bedchamber)—evidence of the maternally intimate relations that the Queen maintained with her courtiers who, like Sir Robert's father, sent her New Year gifts (p.13) or who, like Sir Robert himself and all her other captains, took leave of her before setting out for the wars (p.47). Or it may be the account of the emblems and mottoes decorating a painted closet at Sir Robert's seat at Hawstead (pp.56-7), or mere piquant details like the bequest of Sir Robert's father to his cousin Lord Rich (p.21) of his best horse and his best set of diamond buttons, to be made into a hat-band. There are many glimpses of the domestic life of the Elizabethan gentleman in the city, on his country estate, or (as Sir Robert frequently was) abroad. Professor Bald takes every opportunity to point out the literary interest of such material. There is, too, a full and striking portrait of Sir Robert Drury himself, an heir at fourteen, knighted in the field by Essex at sixteen, married on his seven-

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teenth birthday; soldier, courtier, country gentleman, and would-be diplomat; a litigious and hot-tempered man, vigorous and ambitious, whose indiscreet tongue more than once got him into trouble at court. His financial affairs are intimately revealed by the documents from Redgrave; and the persistence and skill of Sir Nicholas Bacon in setting to rights the complicated inheritance of Sir Robert, his ward and son-in-law, are only to be matched by Professor Bald's own in tracing and recounting Bacon's proceedings.

Bald is able to make a few additions and corrections to biographical data concerning Joseph Hall, who became rector of Hawstead at Lady Drury's instance in 1601 (p.50). But it is of the greater poet that we learn the more. The accepted picture of Donne's relations with the Drurys is much modified—it is no longer a case of an impoverished, frustrated man with a large family who aims an elegy on a dead fifteen-year-old girl at her wealthy father, and thereafter sponges on his bounty. It is possible that Donne and Sir Robert Drury had been acquainted for years. If, as Walton says, Donne had been at Cambridge his stay would have overlapped that of Drury. Donne's life-long friend, Sir Henry Wotton, was a close friend of Sir Edmund Bacon; and another of Donne's closest friends, Sir Henry Goodyere, was, like Drury, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. Bald establishes a strong probability that the means by which Donne and Drury were brought into greater intimacy was the marriage (her second), probably in the second half of 1593, of Donne's eldest sister Anne to William Lyly, of whom by dint of an admirable piece of research Bald is able to give a pretty full account (Chap. vi). Lyly had a long career as a government agent, especially with Strafford's embassy in France, and spent the last five years of his life (1598-1603) at Hawstead enjoying the friendship and patronage of Drury. The presence of Anne Lyly at Hawstead during Joseph Hall's stay there also suggests why Hall acted as 'harbinger' to Donne's 'Anniversaries', and why Hall was among the 'dear friends and benefactors' to whom Donne, near the end of his life, sent copies of his seal of the cross and anchor (p.83). Though Donne, as he says, had never seen Elizabeth Drury (who died in December, 1610), the subject of his 'Funerall Elegie' and the ostensible subject of the 'Anniversaries', his sister might have known the girl for most of her short life. Perhaps it was Anne who suggested to her brother the composition of the 'Elegie', the reception of which by Drury led to the closer association between the two men. Donne was three years older than Drury, was widely travelled, and was the better linguist; both had gone on the expedition against Cadiz in 1596 (p.35); both were much in attendance at the court of James I as unsuccessful suitors for a place in the official service; each had prejudiced his career by an indiscretion—Donne by his marriage and Drury by 'speaking and hearing certain buggswords' against the government (p.43); and each had already sat in Parliament. They must have found that they had much in common.

It would appear, therefore, that Donne's funeral elegy may have been prompted by impulses more disinterested than has often been thought; and that the death of Drury's daughter was the occasion that released Donne's creative powers and enabled him to write the two long poems that, as it were, demanded to be born. Neither of the 'Anniversaries' has much real reference to Elizabeth Drury at all, or could be supposed to flatter a sorrowing father; by the time they were written Donne's relations with the Drurys were probably based on other grounds of feeling. Bald clinches the case already put forward by I. A. Shapiro for the date of the

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'Anniversaries'. *An Anatomie of the World* was printed late in 1611, and it is very probable that it was seen through the press by Joseph Hall, who almost certainly wrote the introductory verses (p.88). By December 4th, 1611, Donne was in Amiens with the Drurys, and was writing the second 'Anniversary', *The Progresse of the Soule*—his 'second yeare's true Rent', paid in advance; with preliminary verses by Hall, this was published in time for criticisms to reach Donne by the beginning of April, 1612 (p.93). Bald adds some new details to our knowledge of the travels of Donne with the Drurys on the Continent. He prints for the first time letters in Donne's handwriting drafted to be sent over Drury's signature, one to Rochester, one to Sir David Murray of Prince Henry's household (p.91), and one to the Duchesse de Bouillon that shows Donne's command of French and also the persistence of his characteristic style even in a foreign language (p.101). Much new information (in Chap. viii) is given about Drury House and the adjacent dwelling on Drury's London estate in which Donne and his family lived from soon after his return from the Continent until his removal to the Deanery of St Paul's (p.114). A further piece of ingenious detective work enabled Bald to show that, despite Walton's statement to the contrary, Donne pretty certainly paid rent.

We are also given the text of a copy in Donne's handwriting, made for Drury, of a letter of Rochester, the rising favourite at court, to the Earl of Northampton—a piece of propaganda of which other copies are known pp.123-4); both Donne and Drury were keeping up to date with the shifts of power that could mean much to their careers. In 1613 Donne was given work to do by Rochester, and he must have felt that his prospects were improving. He and Drury both sat in the Addled Parliament of 1614; and Bald shows that both men were seeking, each probably without the knowledge of the other, the post of ambassador at Venice, or, failing that, the ambassadorship to The Hague. Neither had any success in this direction. In 1615 Donne was ordained, and Drury died. Donne was named as one of the trustees of a settlement made by Drury with his sisters in 1613 (p.142), and seems to have given assistance in the final settlement of Drury's estate (p.150). Later, in 1617, Donne witnessed an indenture signed between Lady Drury and his life-long friend, Christopher Brooke, by which Brooke took a lease of stables and a coach-house near Drury House; and another indenture by which Brooke bought from Lady Drury the leases of two properties in the vicinity, thus becoming Donne's near neighbour (pp. 152-4).

This book is an example of resourceful, accurate and well-organized research. It is well illustrated with plates and figures, and contains a detailed list of sources and a full index. Readers will carry from it a more lively sense of the texture of life in Elizabethan and Jacobean times, and a fuller knowledge of Donne's activities in a difficult and often misunderstood period of his life.

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W. MILGATE

TEXTUAL AND LITERARY CRITICISM. Fredson Bowers. Cambridge University Press, 1959, pp. ix + 186.

ANY statement on textual criticism by Professor Fredson Bowers must earn attention, and this book (the Sandars Lectures in Bibliography, given in England in 1957-8) is no exception. His massive knowledge of the problems of bibliography, his unwavering judgement in the midst of the complex

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intricacies of textual transmission and his superb clarity—all these have long commanded unstinted respect. But one must remark that in this book he throws down the gauntlet to literary scholars who do not profess to be specialists in matters textual, and even to some who do. His withering contempt for literary critics who are incuriously content to base their comments on faulty texts—and he gives some distressing examples—is matched by his scorn for 'the laziness or timidity . . . of our academic editors'. While defining the difference between editors and literary critics (who tend to appear as somewhat lesser mortals) Professor Bowers also severely limits the number of those who may justly claim the title of editor at all. For he puts would-be-editors under immense obligations.

In his opening lecture he contends that though the aims of literary critics may be diverse, the aim of textual critics is uniform: the establishment of good texts. But when he proceeds later on to examine the efforts of textual critics a slaughter begins, and the word 'uniform' begins to trouble the reader. C. J. Sisson is dismissed for reviving 'somewhat anachronistically' in his studies of Shakespeare's text the 'old-fashioned' methods of paleography and while ignoring other kinds of bibliographical evidence. Dover Wilson is rebuked for usually confusing authorial with compositorial anomalies, for failing to hew to his own declared editorial line in *Romeo and Juliet*, and for committing other sins more or less venial. 'Experts' on *Richard III* are lined up on page 96 and found all to be in different stances. The cure for confusion and contradiction is greater knowledge, but the state of knowledge of the New Arden editors is, he says, 'not to be taken seriously'. There might be, he estimates, fifty scholars or fewer, 'perhaps considerably fewer', adequate for the task of shaping texts of Shakespeare which could safely penetrate to the schools. Some academics are ruled out because accumulated knowledge about the transmission of texts is now so complex and intricate that few scholars, if any, can control it. 'It may be,' he confesses, 'that the task is too great, the amount of theory and information too extensive for the intellectual synthesis to be made and a text defined.' But he continues hopefully, 'I do not really think so, however, although we must not underestimate the difficulty for any single individual to have, and keep in balance, the necessary linguistic, bibliographical and purely critical abilities that will be required.'

That he himself does not shirk these responsibilities readers know from his edition of Dekker. Good texts must precede good criticism and good texts imply rigorous discipline and cold objectivity. As is to be expected, Professor Bowers stresses the importance of ascertaining the exact nature of printer's copy and the facts concerning textual transmission from it, and then goes on to express his great confidence in the ultimate success of present studies of the Shakespeare First Folio as it was set up by compositors of varying habits in the printing-house: 'the concurrence or variance of hundreds and hundreds of small points of spelling, punctuation and capitalisation according to recognizable patterns divorced from compositorial habits should combine with evidence from readings to establish the truth in bibliographical terms.' *Should*—but it is a dizzying prospect. It means in effect that much more attention must be paid to the evidence of 'accidentals' and less reliance placed on substantive readings in what is, in any case, complexly derived printer's copy. Exacting though the method may be, it has the immense advantage (if the results are conclusive) of making textual decision a matter of purely mechanical evidence, for which Professor Bowers has the highest reverence.

But he is not so unadventurous as to suggest that the matter ends there,

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for he proceeds to demonstrate courageously and persuasively that *any* edition of Shakespeare must be (unless it is a facsimile or diplomatic reprint) eclectic: 'the recovery and authentication of Shakespeare's text must always proceed from multiple authority by eclectic means.' It is only that eclecticism must be bridled: 'textual bibliography takes as its end the logical scientific control of the eclectic method and the supplementing of the methods of literary criticism applied to choice of readings. The control takes the form of requiring the purely critical judgement to operate within fixed bounds of physical fact and logical probability.' That sentence is one of the key statements in the book and Professor Bowers adds: 'This union of the critical judgement with the bibliographical method is the hope for the future'.

In one of the lectures Professor Bowers describes his editing of *Leaves of Grass*, 1860, illustrating without pretension his own ingenuity as a literary sleuth and demonstrating the importance of author's manuscript and textual transmission to literary criticism itself. Still another chapter debates the compromises which an editor may justifiably make in presenting an early dramatic text to reasonably educated readers. Even though one may not agree with his conclusions about spelling, this chapter is a model of good sense and, like the rest of the book, persuasive and lucid in argument.

University of Canterbury

J. C. GARRETT

THE MORAL BASIS OF FIELDING'S ART: A Study of Joseph Andrews. Martin C. Battestin, *Wesleyan University Press, Middleton, Connecticut*, pp. 195.

Too many critics of Fielding have managed to belittle the value of his serious moral purpose and its relation to the meaning and structure of his novels without being able to convey even an impression of the immense comic energy that informs his whole work. In this new study of *Joseph Andrews* Mr Battestin recognises that 'the job of defining the moral basis of Fielding's art inevitably involves a shift of focus away from comedy'; but it is to his credit that the reader submits to the shift without misgivings, for in spite of the contributions made by recent scholars to the understanding of Fielding's moral intensity, apparently the novelist must still be defended against those who find him altogether too boisterous, superficial, and insensitive to moral subtleties.

To understand and fully appreciate Fielding's books it is necessary not only to recognise that moral intensity is not incompatible with the comic mode, but also to perceive that Fielding's concern with 'good nature' and 'charity' has little in common with the cult of sensibility and a great deal in common with the attitudes of those latitudinarian divines, Isaac Barrow, John Tillotson, Samuel Clarke and Benjamin Hoadly, with whose sermons Fielding was familiar, and for whose outlook he had considerable sympathy. Fielding's conception of 'the glorious lust of doing good' is something tougher, more rational, and less sentimental than is sometimes acknowledged.

In his study of *Joseph Andrews* Mr Battestin has produced a very readable and scholarly little book in which he does not pretend to make any extraordinary discovery or original interpretation, but is concerned rather with what he calls 'definition and clarification', that is to say he uses much of the material contained in recent contributions to the study

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of Fielding and applies it to Fielding's first novel. The result is by no means a work of scissors and paste, but an illuminating and perceptive analysis of Fielding's achievement. By the careful use of extracts drawn from the novelist's own writings as well as from the sermons of his favourite divines, he places *Joseph Andrews* firmly in its proper setting, not as a parody of *Pamela* that accidentally turned into something else, but as a positive assertion of the values in which Fielding believed and the artistic principles he had developed.

Mr Battestin shows more clearly and convincingly than earlier writers the way in which Fielding's hilarious satire and serious affirmations determine the structure of the whole book, the importance of the seeming digression of Mr Wilson to the structural and ethical meaning, the significance of the pilgrimage from the city to the country parish of Parson Adams, and the manner in which the latter fulfils the latitudinarian conception of the good man as hero. His stress on Isaac Barrow's sermon *Of Being Imitators of Christ* and his discussion of Fielding's optimistic view of human nature and the social virtue of charity help to make this study of value to all those who enjoy Fielding's hilarity and gusto but are apt to miss the serious intention and structural skill that lift *Joseph Andrews* from the level of a picaresque entertainment to that of a great novel.

University of Canterbury

H. WINSTON RHODES

THE CRITICAL QUARTERLY. Volume I (1959), nos. 1 and 2. Edited by C. B. Cox and A. E. Dyson.

HERE is a new periodical with no axe to grind, with no pretensions—its bright covers suggest a well got-up school magazine. 'We have,' say its editors, 'no new critical manifesto with which to introduce *The Critical Quarterly*. We hope that it will be lively and responsible, intelligent and readable. In time it should develop its own personality . . .' Moreover, here is a journal with a 'particular, though not exclusive, interest . . . in twentieth century literature'—an interest which academics are still shy of proclaiming in syllabus or lecture-room—and offering able and stimulating accounts of modern work. Raymond Williams has longish essays on *Under Milk Wood* and Arthur Miller; these are, in effect, additional chapters to his *Drama from Ibsen to Eliot*. Professor John Danby considers Empson's poetry, its use of Einstein, its dependence on notes, its rhythms and mannerisms: 'Is it not maybe a species of intellectual melodrama we are witnessing . . .?' He doesn't, however, make the necessary distinctions of quality among the *Collected Poems*. He might usefully have suggested how the viciousness of style he analyses is related to the wit and precision of such an assured success as 'To an Old Lady'. There is a substantial review by Bernard Bergonzi of the Belloc and Chesterton essays and poems now available in Penguin Books: deftly and economically he breaks down the compound 'Chesterbelloc' into two distinct personalities, and effectively sends one back to their works.

What is also cheering is the editorial insistence on literature and criticism as things to be enjoyed. 'If we can help to keep alive the belief that literature is for everyman. . . and that it is still one of the major pleasures of life, we shall feel we have achieved at least one of our aims.' Zest, generosity, and tact, the editors quite properly remind us.

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are important critical virtues. In the foreword to the second number they claim: 'we are proving that there is a large audience for literary criticism which tries to avoid specialised jargon and to be lucid and entertaining'. And the first item in this number is a bright assessment of Edmund Wilson by Professor R. J. Kaufmann, a lively if at times over-facetious critic.

A danger is that 'entertaining' criticism may become merely chatty and agreeable. There is a distressing thinness about some contributions—notably an analysis of Thomas's 'Fern Hill' that never moves beyond the obvious, and a brief article on Philip Larkin ('In the lovely poem, "No Road", which we have printed here, he tells of two people who have decided to part, and how time will gradually rub away the intimacy they have created'). Sometimes we are given a mild reworking of points that have been made more fully elsewhere—as in Rosemary Woolf's account of 'Chaucer as a Satirist', the first half of which leans very heavily (and without acknowledgment) on E. T. Donaldson's article in *PMLA* for 1954.

Spread over the two numbers are seven answers to the question 'Why Teach Literature?' and in these the tone gets more strenuous, more concerned. Literature as pleasure is largely forsaken for literature as improvement. So there is an odd dichotomy in the journal, reflecting the soul-searchings and anxieties of many teachers in schools and universities who feel it necessary to justify to themselves and to their society time spent on Eng. Lit. courses. 'The purpose of teaching literature?' Professor Enright asks himself, and replies, 'Whether at home or abroad, I suppose the answer is—to do good to people.' This, basically, is the view of most of his fellow-contributors. But while he writes with wit and pungency, too many of his fellows have taken over, with the *Scrutiny* view-point, a *Scrutiny* manner, that merely distracts us from the worth of what they are asserting: 'Learning to read from the first steps with the A.B.C. to the time when, at the university, a full reading of (say) *King Lear* first becomes possible, is a training in maturity, and so in the art of living. Teaching literature is inseparable from growth in moral awareness—is inseparable, that is to say, from politics, sociology, and the business of human relationships in general'. Thus material is already assembling for the symposium we are promised in the third number, 'Our Debt to Dr Leavis'.

For the rest: there are a few good original poems, and more indifferent ones. The short notices are competent, though neither particularly exciting nor attractively presented, being in much smaller (and more trying) type than is used elsewhere.

Somewhere between these two numbers the definite article has disappeared from the title. There are two ghastly misprints on pages 92 and 94.

University of Adelaide

P. DIXON

SPAN: An Adventure in Asian and Australian Writing, edited for the Canberra Fellowship of Australian Writers by Lionel Wigmore, *F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne, pp. 381.*

ACCORDING to its editor, the aim of this well-produced volume with artwork and typography by Arthur Leydin is to span 'the distances and difficulties—distances between countries, differences in race, religion, language and outlook—which exist in that part of the world known today as South and South-east Asia, and Australia'. How exactly it achieves this laudable purpose is not quite clear; but the result is a pleasant and occasionally

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interesting collection of short stories and verse drawn from the work of eighty different writers in a dozen different countries.

The difficulties of compiling an international anthology should not be underestimated; but the nature of these difficulties must impose serious limitations on the quality and scope of the completed work. The many helpers required to obtain and sift manuscripts will, like the translators, have a variety of qualifications, not all of which are suitable to such an undertaking. It would be less than just to regard *Span* as merely an experiment in literary organisation and an attempt to create links between writers, editors, and officials of a number of countries; and yet it can scarcely be maintained that the contributions chosen are adequately representative of the best contemporary writing in the countries concerned.

Although no claim of this kind has been made, it is disturbing to think that *Span* may unintentionally present a distorted picture of South-east Asian literary achievement since 1945. It can hardly do otherwise. One or at most two contributions from Ceylon or Burma, Malaya or Vietnam would not seem to contribute much of significance when placed beside twenty-two from Australia, seventeen from India and thirteen from Indonesia. Nor can it be said that any clear picture of attitude or technique emerges from the assortment of poems separating the stories.

Although the editor stresses the fact that 'some who are regarded as rebels or revolutionaries, and some who rate as reactionaries rub shoulders in these pages', there is not much indication that the book reflects 'the Asian-Australian neighbourhood while the enormously powerful effects of World War II were in their dawn'. The stories are very uneven in quality and seem to be directed towards a magazine-reading audience little interested in the vital topics of the day, the deep undercurrents of personal and social life, or the urgencies of religion and politics. What the reader will discover is harmless enough—that in Pakistan men grow old but still wish to remain independent of their relations, that on May Day Eve in the Philippines young girls peer in the mirror to behold the face of the man they are fated to marry, that in Burma a husband is quite capable of shirking his family responsibilities, that in Thailand the theft of a beast can lead to disputes between neighbours; and it is something of a relief to find that the two writers with international reputations, Anand of India and Han Suyin of Malaya, contribute tales that penetrate a little deeper into the social scene. It is probably not an accident but a direct consequence of the difficulties of compiling the anthology that the Australian contributions more clearly reveal the country and its people.

Nevertheless it could be said that because human beings are shown to be much the same whether they live in the villages of India, the jungles of Thailand, or the townships of Australia, a useful though not a profound purpose has been served. The editor hopes that *Span* will sharpen interest in the countries represented and encourage other 'neighbourly publications'; but it is not obvious that much progress in understanding will be made through literary co-operation that judiciously avoids many of the topics that keep people apart. Further experiments in international anthologizing may be expected, and future editors will be ungenerous if they fail to recognize the immense amount of work and goodwill that has gone into the production of *Span*. If they can learn from its inadequacies and overcome the organisational and translating problems involved, their success will be due largely to the pioneering efforts of the Canberra Fellowship of Australian Writers and the editor, Lionel Wigmore.

POETRY AND MORALITY: Studies on the Criticism of Matthew Arnold, T. S. Eliot and F. R. Leavis. Vincent Buckley. *London, Chatto and Windus* 1959, pp. 239.

THE title of this fresh and thoughtful book would seem to express both more and less than the author hopes to accomplish. Mr Buckley, the first Lockie Teaching Fellow in Australian Literature at Melbourne University, has found it necessary to devote his opening chapter to 'Explanations' which attempt to define and limit the nature of his subject and the method he has chosen to employ. This is by no means superfluous, and indeed becomes less explanatory than an integral part of his exploration.

The question he asks but does not seek to answer definitively or directly may be expressed in his own terms: 'In what sense is the greatness of poetry a moral greatness? In what sense is the poet's concern with and for his material a concern for something possessing moral vitality and importance?' From an analysis of the work of three critics, 'easily the greatest critics of the last century and a half', he succeeds in directing the reader's attention to the complexities and confusions involved in attempts to grapple with this central problem.

If the reader is out of tune with Mr Buckley's tentative approach and critical method he may complain that the result is merely another turn round the mulberry bush. His end is in his beginning, the quotation from Henry James with which he prefaces his book: 'Morality is part of the essential richness of inspiration—it has nothing to do with the artistic process and it has everything to do with the artistic effect. The more a work of art feels it at its source, the richer it is; the less it feels it, the poorer it is'. In his introduction to *Poetry and Morality* Professor Basil Willey describes somewhat differently what has emerged at the conclusion: 'Poetry is autonomous, yet is involved in life; literary judgments are autonomous, yet they pass into ethical judgments through the diagnosis of emotional quality'.

However it is not the arrival that is so important to Mr Buckley; it is the journey of critical exploration which helps to reveal unrecognised and unexpected dangers and makes an arrival more valuable both to the author and to the sympathetic but critical reader. Mr Buckley keeps strictly to his subject and method as defined in 'Explanations'. He avoids theoretical discussion and dreary excursions into the History of Criticism which usually succeed in bewildering both author and reader. He keeps his eye steadily on the object, even if the object is seen through the critical essays of those who have been seriously and responsibly concerned with the same questions. He analyses their pronouncements with fine discrimination, exploring their difficulties, their confusions, and their valuable insights.

It may be that readers will be more grateful for this analysis than for anything else—for his treatment of Arnold's view of poetry and of religion, for his attempt to disentangle Eliot's impersonal order, and for his examination of impersonality and values in the work of Leavis. It may be that readers will feel that his reverent approach to the confusions of Eliot is more damning than recent attacks on the Master, that his elucidation of Arnold's critical position re-establishes him as a critic worthy of more attention than is usually granted to him, and that Mr Buckley has more affinities with Dr Leavis than might have been expected. However, *Poetry and Morality* has not been written and certainly should not be used either to score points for or against the work of eminent critics or to harden prejudice and strengthen pre-conceived ideas. All that Mr Buckley writes is informed with his lively concern to clarify the issues involved in the

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question, 'In what sense is the greatness of poetry a moral greatness?' and it is for this reason that he feels bound to add two appendices, one on Criticism and Theological Standards, and the other on Poetry and Sanctions.

It is possible that his exploration would be unaffected by a heavier accent on 'imaginative literature' rather than on 'poetry', by a closer examination of different kinds of poetry, and by a greater awareness of the needs and requirements of readers; but, although Mr Buckley rejects many of the absurd claims that have been made for poetry, his valuable and stimulating exploration is conducted in the somewhat rarified atmosphere of the world of the higher critics. The criticism of criticism, even when handled by a writer as astute and perceptive as Mr Buckley, is not without its dangers.

University of Canterbury

H. WINSTON RHODES

ESSAYS AND STUDIES of the English Association, Vol. XII, New Series, London, John Murray, 1959.

THE annual volumes of the English Association have, in general, conformed to the tradition of what might be called 'gracious scholarship': like 'gracious living', it has its focus in the salon. But the pattern seems to be changing: in the present collection the subjects are still varied and of general interest, the treatment is still, in the main, discursive rather than closely analytical, but only Dr Rowse and Mr Holmes eschew footnotes.

Three of the essays are biographical-anecdotal in type. Mr Ketton-Cremer adds Roger North to his gallery of Norfolk worthies; Dr Rowse claims Hawker of Morwenstow as 'a belated medieval' in an elegant and sympathetic, if not critically profound study. But while in both these studies the writer's point of view is clear, it is not so easy to gather why Mr Dorsch brackets John Leland and John Stow in an account (solely from printed sources) which does nothing to illuminate the dependence of Stow on Leland.

The remaining essays are on literary themes. The most serious contribution to literary criticism is Mrs Tillotson's paper on *Oliver Twist*. This short but carefully-documented study is not ancillary to the examination of Dickens's working methods which Dr Butt and Mrs Tillotson have been conducting since 1948, but is a demonstration, on a small scale, of the ambivalence of Dickens's art. Perhaps the most interesting critical point Mrs Tillotson makes is the technical importance of Oliver, in his innocence, as a mediator between the Victorian reader and the underworld Dickens was trying to depict realistically. The desperate ingenuities and repeated purifications of the dialogue are alone enough to show how hard it was to be a social realist on Mr Podsnap's terms.

When Sir Arthur MacNalty deals with an historical problem, we have come to expect an medical *clou* to his argument, but 'Shakespeare and Sir Thomas More' is an essay in source-hunting of the orthodox literary type. That Falstaff's death scene was inspired by a passage in More's *De Quatuor Novissimis*, and that Margaret Gigs was the original of Helena in *All's Well That Ends Well* are both interesting suggestions. Sir Arthur likes a moral conclusion to his essays; but whether the phraseology of Shakespeare's will can be cited as evidence of his 'religious spirit of reverence' seems a little doubtful.

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Mr Holmes's essay 'The Shadow of the Swan' is a plea for the re-assessment of Shakespeare's 'ordinary young men' in the common daylight of Shakespeare's own time. Mr Holmes argues very plausibly, and I think succeeds in his defence of most of these overshadowed characters: his alignment of the four young men in *Hamlet* with the four humours of Tudor theory is particularly ingenious, and his rehabilitation of Roderigo enriches the fable of *Othello*. But in the case of Bertram Mr Holmes surely reverses his own argument: by the social standards of Shakespeare's own day (especially that respect for parental authority to which Mr Holmes appeals so successfully in the case of Harry of Monmouth), Bertram acts not 'realistically' but with 'romantic' irresponsibility; and he can be justified (as Shakespeare never attempts to do) only by a sympathy as anachronistic as the disapproval from which Mr Holmes seeks to rescue Proteus or the Claudio of *Much Ado*.

Both the aims and the method of Dr Collins's discussion of 'Kenning in Anglo-Saxon Poetry' are confused. His thesis seems to be that Old English poetry represents 'a fusion of pagan vocabulary and Christian ideas' and that this vocabulary is 'already archaic'. At the present stage of Old English studies no one would dispute the first part of the thesis; but the reciprocal fusion of pagan ideas and Christian vocabulary is equally obvious and demonstrable. And it would seem impossible to prove anything beyond the obvious regarding the nature of this composite vocabulary, merely by listing arbitrarily designated and selected kennings. In what sense, for instance, is *monna scyppend* either pagan or a kenning? Why must the enquiry be restricted to 'the more pedestrian passages' of the Exeter Book poems under review, and by what criteria are passages judged pedestrian, either more or less? Again, an elementary requirement in such a study would seem to be the accurate and sensitive interpretation of the chosen kennings, yet Dr Collins accepts, as if they were a fixed currency, even the most inept renderings of the E.E.T.S. edition—*ecne geard* as 'eternal home', for instance, or *magna gold-hord* as 'glory's Treasury'. It is difficult to assess the evocative power, let alone the 'intrinsic effectiveness', of a kenning or any other poetic statement, from the form it takes in translator's jargon: which convention are we supposed to be judging? Most of Dr Collins's incidental arguments are mere question-begging: for example, 'An expression [*sige-dryhten*] which was commonly applied to a mere princeling would hardly, one would have thought, have satisfied any poet concerned with Christian doctrine'. But the all-embracing objection to the essay is that it deals superficially and capriciously with two very important interlocking subjects of continuing interest (the decay of metaphor, and the rôle of the audience in semantic change), without either reference or appeal to current semantic theory or methods of research.

It was perhaps inevitable, in a volume more than ordinarily rich in misprints, that Dr Collins should be the printer's chief victim.

University of Auckland

E. A. SHEPPARD

FORM AND MEANING IN VALERY'S *LE CIMETIERE MARIN*,
Lawler, James R., *Melbourne University Press*, for the Australian Humanities Research Council, 1959.

WE have here a piece of poetical exegesis marked throughout by the sensitive penetration that we should expect to find in one who has profited

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by the teaching and the example of Professor Chisholm. The author moves with ease among Valéry's pronouncements on poetry, and has also had the advantage of being able to incorporate into his commentary some material from the recently published *Cahiers*.

Dr Lawler's felicities of interpretation are many and various, and I think he need not have complicated them by reserving the possibility of modifying them in the light—or the obscurity—of the process of composition. He leads off by reminding us that Valéry was 'one of the few who reject the cult of the image' (p. 1), and has therefore no real need to deprecate the exegetical method of Gustave Cohen, for whom there was no doubt that 'the idea preceded the image' (p. 3). And though Valéry himself remarked that 'la fabrication est beaucoup plus intéressante que l'œuvre' (quoted p. 4), yet this can hardly be as true for the reader as for the author, otherwise there would be little point in publishing poetry at all. In any case the sonorous patterns supposedly basic to the inferior poetic of a Shelley are of little relevance here. I have no doubt that Valéry's own account of the *Cimetière marin*, as having been called into being by an 'empty rhythmic pattern' (p. 5), contains an element of hoax not as outrageous, of course, but of the same kind as his solemn explanation of its title from 'a melancholy sleeplessness and a dripping tap' (p. 4). I am confident that the theme of the poem was at least as powerful in summoning its characteristic rhythm as the rhythm in evoking the theme; which may provide an answer to Professor L. J. Austin's doubts about the 'lien nécessaire' between the form and the content of the poem (p. 7 & n.).

In any criticism of poetry, concentration must be on what is said rather than on what prompted the saying of it—a principle as applicable to sonorous impulses as to didactic intentions among the various pretexts for poetry. And in this connexion I should like to enter a caveat against the exaggerated importance frequently attached (whatever Valéry's fondness for them) to assonance and alliteration, which at the best can only fortify a meaning, not originate one—as was surely proved by Hubert Fabureau, who pointed out that the famous scheme of I-sounds in Racine's line 'Tout m'afflige et me nuit et conspire à me nuire' could also serve the widely different purpose of Marot extolling, 'dedans Paris, ville jolie,' the gayest lady 'qui soit d'ici en Italie.' Beauties of this kind are commonly fancied, said Johnson; and I suspect that Dr Lawler has once or twice been taken in by the fancy—e.g. his comment: 'Does not *Zénon* already suggest the zing of the arrow?' (p. 34).

But his suggestion of a tripartite division for the poem—the first eight stanzas realising 'the self's solitude' (p. 39) in the presence of impartial noon, the second eight accepting the mortality of the soul frustrated by a soulless vital continuity (though perhaps this is my explanation, rather than Dr Lawler's, of the *ver rongeur*), and the last eight convinced nevertheless that to live is the only way to the intemporal satisfactions beyond life—is convincing in most of its aspects. I would disagree only with the conception of these last stanzas as optimistic and *lebensbejahend*. The conclusion 'il faut tenter de vivre' has always seemed to me to express the acceptance of a *pis aller* rather than an adventure to be joyously undertaken; and in this I have been very gratified to find that Professor Chisholm agrees with me. The refusal, implicit in the theme of the *Cimetière marin*, to submerge the soul in a vital flux, is in a way paralleled by the other characteristic Valerian refusal to place the essence of poetry in personal involvement. It is indeed for the personal experience to justify itself by proving itself meet for expression in generally apprehensible terms; a feeling

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is apt for poetry in so far as it can be couched in a form abstracted from any process towards which feelings normally contribute in their sublunary aspect, and subsumed into a moment eternally deducted from time. This, I think, is what Valéry meant by the remark, quoted by Dr Lawler (p. 11, n.), that poetry should 'restituer de la chose ce qu'elle a de passagèrement éternel.' Here is the central truth about all values to which we give the name 'eternal'—that they are prefigured by the timeless moment, not the temporal continuity: among them the poetic values affirmed by the *Cimetière marin*, which are not in need of any optimism about their effectiveness in operation in order to prove their validity. And in saying this I believe I am not in the last resort doing any violence to Dr Lawler's reading of Valéry.

King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne

J. NORMAN SUCKLING

DICTIONNAIRE FONDAMENTAL DE LA LANGUE FRANCAISE.
Georges Gougenheim. London, Harrap, 1959, pp. 255. (Printed in France.)

FEW events in the linguistic world have in recent years created the cloud of dispute which hung over the birth of *le français élémentaire*. Conceived originally on the model of Basic English, but in fact a far sounder project from the linguistic point of view, *le français élémentaire* was intended to be initiatory and introductory: it was not to be substituted for unrestricted knowledge of French. Critics of the project were quick to point out its political dangers: far from facilitating the acquisition of French, it might make it easier for colonial administrations to restrict the knowledge the 'non-self-governing' could gain to what was offering through the truncated language. How things have worked out, this reviewer is not aware, but it must be said that the venture as conceived by Professors Gougenheim and Sauvageot appears likely to fulfil the role planned for it at least where the teaching of French to English-speaking children is concerned.

Le français élémentaire was based on investigations of actual speech: it was not a construct of logic, but the result of scientific enquiry. The original 1374-word list has now been backed up by grammars, dictionaries and readers. The advantages of working from such a basis rather than from the purely literary and faintly dated *French Word Book* of Vander Beke are clear. One wonders indeed whether there would have been any dispute if less prominence had been given to the questionable non-pedagogical values of the project.

The *Dictionnaire fondamental* is intended as an intermediate word-list, taking the learner on from the elementary list to such shorter standard dictionaries as the *Petit Larousse*. It contains approximately 3000 words, included on the same basis as those in the elementary list. The words are defined in terms which are only rarely outside the elementary list, and the definitions are frequently accompanied by drawings. As definitions of this kind were not envisaged as a primary purpose of the elementary list, a number of defining words are listed, and explained in elementary terms, at the beginning of the *Dictionnaire*. There is, of course, a tremendous advantage in providing word definitions on the basis of what is known to be known: the plan appears flawless. There are, however—unless one is not making sufficient allowance for the simplicity of the child's approach—some unfortunate explanations. For example, 'se dit du petit côté d'une surface, quand il occupe beaucoup de place' seems a curiously difficult way of defining *large*; it also seems very explicit when compared with the

primary definition of *grand*: 'qui occupe beaucoup de place.' The drawings are not always faultless; *milieu* is explained by a sentence describing a drawing of a table *not* in the middle of a room; there is no identifying arrow in the illustration for *avant*, but there is for *après*; and one wonders how many children would recognise the illustration of *haut-fourneau*, which is adequately defined in words. These slight blemishes are, however, commendably rare.

Perhaps the most interesting feature is in the pronunciations given (a slightly modified version of the IPA alphabet is used). Being based on the investigation of real speech, the pronunciations recommended show little purism, and it is very pleasing to find many normally spurned ones recorded as the standard. The initial vowel of words beginning with *auto-* is regularly recorded as [o]; *bas*, *tas*, etc. are given with [a], not [ɑ]; *effet* is [ɛfɛ] *ouvrier* shows a glide [uvrije]; no distinct pronunciation is noted for the plural of *cerf*, *ours* (but it is for *œufs*, *bœufs*). Optional pronunciations are often given with the so-called semi-vowels: [ʎoer] or [lyoer] for *lueur*; [lue] or [lwe] for *louer*; [west] or [uɛst] for *ouest*; [lie] or [lje], but not [lije], for *lier*. One is a little surprised to see final *-e* noted in words like *rendre*, *table*, *livre*, and it is astonishing to find the phonetic distinction reduced to one length in *tache*:*tâche* [taʃ]: [ta:ʃ], particularly when the difference in quality is recorded for the corresponding verbs *tacher*: *tâcher* [taʃe]: [ta:ʃe].

These aspects, which are of great interest to the linguist in view of the basis of *le français élémentaire*, are unfortunately a by-product. It is to be hoped that the linguists concerned in its preparation will use the material gathered in scientific descriptions of contemporary French and so make it more readily available. As for the pedagogical value of the scheme, time and use alone will tell; but as it is at present developing, it promises well for results in our own schools.

University of Auckland

K. J. HOLLYMAN

ANTOINE BRET (1717-92). The Career of an Unsuccessful Man of Letters. A. C. Keys. *University of Auckland, Monograph no. 4*: 1959. pp. 86.

ANTOINE BRET is a little-known figure of the eighteenth century. He was born at Dijon in 1717, was admitted advocate in the Parlement of Burgundy, and in 1741 was elected to membership of the recently founded Academy of Dijon. Soon after this, he came to seek his literary fortune in Paris. He spent over three months in the Bastille, either on account of a licentious novel entitled *Histoire bavarde*, or for murmuring against the Marquise de Pompadour. He was a protégé of the Marquis de Paulmy and a member of the salon of Madame de Graffigny. Here he met Rousseau, with whom he became closely acquainted. He wrote fifteen plays (four comic operas, one *drame*, and ten comedies) which were performed between 1744 and 1792, as well as three which were published but never performed. His *Mémoires sur la vie de Mademoiselle de Lenclos*, which first appeared in 1751, have been often reprinted, on the last occasion in 1927. He was celebrated above all for his edition of Molière (1773, 6 vols.). Late in life he wrote a poetic *Epître au dix-neuvième siècle*, and died in 1792.

This career, not dissimilar from so many others in the eighteenth cen-

tury, Professor Keys has reconstructed from many and diverse sources. A few lines in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, consisting mainly of a list of his works, an article of less than a page in Michaud's *Biographie universelle*, and a paragraph by Palissot: the traditional works of reference offer no more. If the third volume of Paul Van Tieghem's *Le Prérromantisme* mentions Bret, it is in a reference to a thesis by Professor Keys; and the article on Bret in the *Dictionnaire de biographie française* is likewise from his pen. In addition to articles in AUMLA and the *Revue de littérature comparée*, he has published in the *Annales de la Société Jean-Racques Rousseau* (t. XXXII) a number of anecdotes by Bret concerning Rousseau. The volume which he has now published resumes, brings together and co-ordinates the material he had already published and adds considerably to it.

The sources on which he has drawn are well chosen and well handled. He has used extensively the *Correspondance littéraire* of Grimm, the *Mémoires secrets* of Bachaumont, the *Journal et mémoires* of Collé, the *Mercur de France*, and the publications of Joannidès and Carrington Lancaster concerning the Comédie française. He has used unpublished material in the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, the Dijon Library, the Bibliothèque nationale, and the British Museum. He has arranged his material into chapters dealing with the life of Bret, his works, his associates, his taste, his patrons, his morals, and his repute. He gives a thorough, clear, and definitive picture of Bret.

I detect few slips or misprints: *De Châtelet* for *Du Châtelet* (pp. 8 and 12) and *d'Ivry* for *de Sivry* (p. 28). I suspect that the member of the D'Argenson family referred to on p. 10 is the Comte and not his brother the Marquis. The publication, since Professor Keys went to press, of vol. XLVII of the Besterman edition of *Voltaire's Correspondence* upsets one of his conclusions. The Moland edition had printed, with the date 10 October 1761, a letter from Voltaire to Bret. Mr Besterman, having found the original of this letter, shows it as addressed to Alexis Jean Le Bret, who is a different person. The projected edition of Bayle, referred to in Voltaire's letter, must therefore be attributed not to Bret but to Le Bret, in spite of his being the author of a work as far removed from the spirit of Bayle as his *Entretiens d'une âme pénitente avec son créateur*. Perhaps, however, this is not the end of the story. If standard works of reference are to be believed, Bret and Le Bret were both born in Burgundy, were both members of the Academy of Dijon, both held the office of censor, and both published commentaries on Molière. This series of coincidences is remarkable and perhaps too complete to be credible. It caused confusion already in the eighteenth century, for speaking of Le Bret's poem *Les Quatre Saisons*, Grimm writes: 'Il ne faut pas confondre ce M. Le Bret avec M. Bret, auteur de quelques comédies médiocres, mai qui est un aigle en comparaison du chantré des quatre saisons' (*Correspondance littéraire*, VI, p. 37).

Is Bret worth exhuming? The question presents itself inevitably in respect of this mediocre writer. My own opinion is that to collect all available information about him, to interpret it, and to combine it into a narrative as Professor Keys has done is certainly worth while. The figures of the second and third rank often throw more light on the real nature of life in literary circles than do the giants. The career of Bret tells us much about the position of the literary *homme moyen* in relation to the *philosophes*. Bret is seen to be an opponent of the *drame* from the standpoint of an admirer of Molière, yet to write a *drame* himself in later life; to evoke

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both the friendship (in 1757) and the mockery (in 1762) of Diderot; to be imprisoned by the Comte d'Argenson but protected by his nephew Paulmy; simultaneously to admire Voltaire and Rousseau; to be the friend of Palissot, the arch-enemy of the *philosophes*, but to contribute over a period of more than 24 years to the *Journal encyclopédique*, and to be the censor who allowed Marmontel's too philosophical *Bélisaire* to slip through. It is a remarkable career and by studying it one gains a new understanding of the cross-currents of eighteenth-century literary life. Professor Keys has in this study of Bret performed a significant service to eighteenth-century studies.

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ROBERT SHACKLETON

MARCEL COHEN: *Notes de méthode pour l'histoire du français*, Moscou, Editions en langues étrangères, 1958 (Agence littéraire et artistique parisienne, Paris). *Subjonctiveries*, offprint from *Europe* (Paris), décembre 1958, pp. 104-115. *Compléments de verbe et dictionnaires*, offprint from *Omagiu lui Iorgu Iordan*, Bucarest 1958, pp. 173-181. "On en trouve de nombreux exemples, y compris chez les bons auteurs", offprint from *Etude de la langue française* (Tokyo), no. 21-22, mai 1959, pp. 1-3. *Renouvellements des modes du verbe: exemples observés dans l'évolution des langues sémitiques méridionales*, offprint from *Scientia* (Asso, Italy) 6e série, 53e année, 1959, pp. 1-7.

THE linguistic self-consciousness which is so characteristic of France is particularly well exemplified by the passionate interest French linguists take in their own tongue, no matter how remote their own specialised field of study may be. Marcel Cohen is by profession a *sémitisant*—an authority on Amharic, and a leading writer on questions of general linguistics. At the same time, he is a close observer of his own language and one of the first to note new developments taking place under our eyes or within earshot.

The first work under review, a booklet of just under 100 pages originally planned as an article at the request of the Soviet linguist Vinogradov, may be considered as an extension of Professor Cohen's *Histoire d'une langue: le français*. While giving the broad outlines of the history of French, it has as its main purpose to indicate the methods of investigation required by the problems the historian of the language has to face. It therefore provides not only a useful introduction for the newcomer, but also a very instructive guide to the research student. Even those who are very familiar with the history of French will find here much to exercise their minds, particularly if their thoughts have been running in what were accepted as well-established grooves. There is, of course, much that every historian of French could say about a work of this kind: each one would have written it differently, placed this or that emphasis more or less strongly. The dates quoted (p. 36) for the appearance of legal documents in French (North or South) are all rather late, and no mention is made of the mixed-language charters, which begin as early as 954 in the South (*HGL*, t. 2, col. 421). One is surprised at the lack of comment on the still-vexed question of the real meaning of the *Ordonnances* of Villers-Cotteret. No account is given of the erroneous but persistent theory that Christian Latin was the basis of 'Vulgar' Latin (p. 90, n. 11). There should have been a reference (p. 91, n. 22) to Huguet's *Mots disparus ou vieillis*. But where there is so much good meat, it is fastidious to argue about the details of each cut.

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The delightfully titled *Subjonctiveries* is a review of the vitality of the tenses of the subjunctive; the conclusion is that the present and *passé composé* are hale and hearty, but that the health of the imperfect and pluperfect is very suspect. Inevitably, in a study of article length, some areas of weakening use are treated too summarily, for example the not uncommon type: 'Non, je ne croyais pas qu'un chat s'acclimatait si vite' (Colette, *La Chatte*).

With a few notable exceptions, dictionary makers in the past have all too frequently got away with the reproduction in modified form of the work of their predecessors. Of recent years, linguists have been paying more and more attention to the desirable methods of presenting linguistic material in dictionaries, and to the type of information to be presented. *Compléments de verbe* is a valuable addition to the growing literature of this type. Observance of the principles advanced would be of great assistance to foreign students of French, who often find the sharing out of different noun objects among paronymous verbs a serious problem..

The use of *y compris* adverbially before a preposition (as exemplified in the title of the article), with the approximate sense of *aussi* or *même*, is very recent but has become common, and has even been extended to use before subordinate clauses, adjectives and adverbs. In all these cases, the participle is, of course, invariable.

The fact that a breakdown in the system of verb moods—usually as a result of phonetic change—nearly always leads to the development of other forms to renew the old oppositions, and sometimes provide additional ones, is illustrated from the Semitic languages in the last article. Perhaps the most important point made is that in the 're-established' system, not only the morphological oppositions, but also their grammatical content, are usually different. This is a salutary principle to be noted by those who continue to project Latin mood oppositions into French.

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K. J. HOLLYMAN

ALPHONSE KARR, SA VIE ET SON OEUVRE (1808-1890). Derek P. Scales, *Geneva, Droz, Paris, Minard*, 1959, pp. 135.

TIME has been unkind to the work of Alphonse Karr and one may well wonder if in this year of grace 1960 Karr has any readers at all; certainly the miraculous resurrection that takes place when a reader opens a book must rarely come his way and as the clods lie heavy on his bones, so the dust must lie heavy on his books. If anyone merits the qualification "of historic interest only", it is Alphonse Karr; indeed it is quite probable that he risked passing even from history, of remaining as a mere name, an entry in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale and little more.

Professor Scales has rescued Karr from this fate and for doing so he deserves both our thanks and our admiration. Our admiration, since it requires a certain moral courage to make an excursion into the dusty attics of the nineteenth century. He merits our thanks on two counts. In the first place, he has given us an exemplary study of the rise and fall of a literary mediocrity, the sudden metamorphosis of the struggling poetaster and journalist into the best-selling author of *Sous les tilleuls*, thanks to the appalling bad taste of the public of 1832, the more soundly based success of the journalist under Louis-Philippe with the monthly pamphlet, *Les Guêpes*, then with the fall of the Republic, the coming of middle age, the

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gradual but inevitable revelation of Karr's limitations, of his ultimate fate, oblivion, the pathetic attempts to revive *Les Guêpes*, to write for the theatre. Curiously enough, at the same time as the mediocrity of Karr's talent becomes apparent, the man himself becomes singularly likeable. The gardener, the grandfather, the hale and hearty old athlete are infinitely preferable to the unpleasantly bohemian journalist of the 1830's. Professor Scales has plotted out this career, these metamorphoses, clearly and accurately; his documentation seems exhaustive, his interpretations are sound; he has not appealed against the verdict of Time in the case of Alphonse Karr; on the contrary by his judicious evaluation of Karr's work (pp. 91-105), by his nice sense of irony he has demonstrated the justice of this verdict.

The second reason for offering our thanks to Professor Scales is that he has written a most valuable chapter in the literary history of the nineteenth century (the age of Louis-Philippe in particular). It is true that Karr scarcely played a dynamic rôle in the literary scene of the time and one cannot imagine that the literature of nineteenth century France would have been very different, had *Sous les tilleuls* not been written. For all that the man was a sort of crossroads in the literary world of his day. As he said of himself: 'Il est peu d'hommes de génie et de talent de ce temps-ci auquel (sic) je n'aie pressé la main.' Professor Scales has succeeded admirably in evoking Karr's place in the literary world of Paris under the monarchy of July. Students of this period will find his work most useful for its picture of the literary life of Paris. It is backed by an excellent bibliography.

University of Tasmania

I. H. SMITH

THE DEVOTED MISTRESS. A LIFE OF LOUISE DE LA VALLIERE.
Joan Sanders. London, Longmans, 1959, pp. 275.

TO many of us Louise de la Vallière has probably been little more than a name, a shadowy figure in the early life of Louis XIV, less well known than the flamboyant Mme de Montespan who succeeded her as the Royal mistress, or the respectable and pious Mme de Maintenon, companion of his later years of more sober domesticity. In this biography by Joan Sanders, La Vallière emerges as a person of charm, character and intelligence, genuinely in love with the young Louis. Mrs Sanders sees the liaison, in its early days, as an idyll conducted under difficulties in the midst of the glittering and sophisticated Court society, with Louise the most unworldly of mistresses and Louis youthfully, romantically in love. We see, through the author's perceptive eyes, the gradual hardening of the character of Louis XIV, his egoism and growing sense of personal dignity and of the dignity of the monarchy which he embodied, and at the same time we see Louise losing ground to the unscrupulous and beautiful Mme de Montespan. In her last years at Court she was to occupy the curious and heartbreaking position of nominal mistress, because although all the world knew of Mme de Montespan's new status, the existence of her tiresomely uncooperative husband prevented open acknowledgment of it, rendering Louise's continued presence at Court indispensable to the King.

The biography covers in detail only thirteen years of her life, those spent at the court. In her last years there, guided and encouraged by Bossuet, she began to turn towards the idea of renouncing the world, and in 1674 at the age of twenty-nine she entered a Carmelite convent. There,

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but for a meagre note on her death in 1710, she disappears from history.

The life-story of La Vallière, however, is only a part of this lively and eminently readable book. Life at the French court in the seventeenth century is a rich field for any writer, and Mrs Sanders has seized with both hands the opportunities it offers. The royal hunts, military reviews, balls, court ballets, fireworks and *fêtes galantes* of every kind, as well as the intrigues and scandals, are described with verve and a pleasantly light touch. The portraits of the notable figures clustered about the throne are drawn with equal skill and relish. Mrs Sanders has an eye for the significant detail and a nice sense of timing. She gives the impression of having steeped herself so thoroughly in the atmosphere of the court that she sees it not at a distance of three centuries, but almost as if she had been an eavesdropper at the confidences exchanged in the draughty corridors and antechambers of the Louvre. In this she has had some assistance not only from contemporary sources, but from recent historians, notably from W. H. Lewis, on whose book *The Splendid Century* she has drawn lavishly, even to the extent of borrowing some of his neatly-turned expressions, as for example the piquant phrases in which he sums up the character and inclinations of Monsieur, the King's younger brother.

Mrs Sanders however has a neat turn of phrase of her own, and the combination of her agreeably dry wit with the obvious sincerity of her sympathy for Louise de la Vallière gives the book its distinctive flavour. She writes with imagination and insight, based upon a solid foundation of painstaking documentation, and she has produced a book which can be read with equal pleasure by the general reader or by those more familiar with the personalities and events of the *Grand Siècle*.

Among the latter there will be those who will be momentarily irritated by some minor inaccuracies. One in particular which jars by its repetition is the author's misuse of the term *ruelle* (pp. 11, 65, 74, 161, etc.) It is clear that Mrs Sanders sees this as a sort of rail surrounding the bed—on one occasion she refers to the bride Maria Theresa 'sitting on the *ruelle* fencing the bed platform' (p. 11). The *ruelle* was in fact, as numerous writers of the period make clear, and as the magisterial Littré confirms, the space between the bed and the wall, in which friends might be entertained while the hostess reclined at ease, and where favoured *alcôvist*es might be accorded the privilege of a stool to sit on.

Some may disagree, too, with her statement that Molière's *Les Précieuses* was aimed at the society of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, a view now amply discredited.

These are, however, small imperfections in the excellence of the whole. If the great events of the century, military, political, literary, appear only as a background to the personal chronicle, this is deliberate and right in a biography of this kind. The portrait of Louise de la Vallière is drawn with delicate perception, and although at this distance of history it is impossible to say whether or not it is altogether a true one, there can be no doubt that Mrs Sanders makes it convincing and, on occasions, moving. It is a book which could have been written only by a woman, but is in no sense only a woman's book, and it is to be hoped that the author's undoubted skill as a biographer may be expended on another of the lesser-known figures of the seventeenth century.

University of New England

BRONNIE TRELOAR

SCHILLER REVISITED: SOME BICENTENNIAL REFLECTIONS. H. B. Garland. London, International Book Club, 1959, pp. 33.

SCHILLER 1759/1959: COMMEMORATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES. Edited by John R. Frey. Urbana. University of Illinois Press, Illinois. Studies in Language and Literature: vol. 46, 1959, pp. vii + 213.

THERE is a marked difference between these two latest offerings to the Schiller bicentenary and not only in length. Professor Garland has given us a friendly and affectionate study. He seems to confide in his readers and takes the footnotes as read. Those who know his books on Lessing, Schiller and the *Sturm und Drang*, do not need reminding that Garland has been on the closest of terms with the later part of the eighteenth century for many years.

The title might indicate that Garland was returning to an old academic love and that some stock-taking would result. Nothing of the sort: Garland refers neither to his own critical works nor to any others. He writes *sui generis* and in what might be called a gently sovereign manner.

His five themes are broadly conceived: *Freedom, The Heroes, Harmony, The Poet, The Two Schillers*. The first traces Schiller's developing conception of freedom. Garland seems to be interested primarily in the earlier plays. But he demonstrates how *Die Räuber*, 'in which the conflict of human will with necessity . . . unrolls itself to the ultimate victory of necessity and yet reveals the sublimity of the human mind in Karl's final deliberate act . . . embryonically contains . . . the mature Schiller's conception of freedom'. Garland treats Karl and Franz as antitheses who yet stand on common ground and seek freedom from the same thing: 'the rule of law; and law in its most fundamental sense'. It is therefore not surprising that in his discussion of *Don Carlos* Garland sums up the complexities of Posa in comparably antithetic and convincing manner. This seems to stress implicitly the play's lasting actuality:

. . . like many other idealists of his age, he is willing to forego the strict letter of republicanism if he can attain the essence of his ideals by other paths. The quickest . . . is to use existing circumstances, converting the monarch . . . and so achieving an enlightened despotism. . . . Posa seems to fortify his idealism with a dash of 'Realpolitik' . . ., his individualistic, even authoritarian, temperament is at odds with his democratic and humane ideals. It unfits him for co-operation . . . Posa is the doctrinaire libertarian of the eighteenth century, who is ready to impose liberty. His ideals belong to the future, his methods to the past.

This leads into an account of the ideals of freedom which move the three 'heroes' of *Don Carlos*. Garland's assessment of *Philipp* is particularly sympathetic: the comparatively detailed treatment of this play means, however, that *The Heroes* is correspondingly light-weight. Garland shows how Schiller tends towards a cluster of two or three central characters and how 'this plurality is projected through the later plays.' But vitality only comes back into the argument with his remarks on *Wilhelm Tell*. Garland maintains that in *Tell* himself Schiller finally succeeded in uniting realist and idealist in one person. The result, he says, 'is neither'. But he shows what a precarious climax this is—'an armed peace of the spirit'.

One could wish here for some assessment of the living qualities of these 'heroes'—or at least an assessment of their 'stage vitality'. One can hardly determine the ultimate quality of Schiller's 'heroes' unless the theatrical context is constantly in mind.

Harmony falls into two parts which are not associated with complete logic. The first outlines Schiller's preoccupation with cosmic imagery and advances the idea of celestial harmony. This is followed by an indication as to how various Schiller characters achieve equilibrium. To some extent this is a second brewing of what has been put forward in *The Heroes*. Garland does not seem too happy here and modulates from 'harmony' to 'friendship'. One cannot in a work of this length demand detailed transitions, but the break here does make a rather uncomfortable impression.

On 'friendship' Garland is again on firm ground. One feels that it is the practical and human side of Schiller which fascinates him—rather than the *Gedankenlyriker*. More than once he emphasises Schiller's 'deep-seated streak of realism'. This is a necessary riposte to the tradition of criticism which annexed Schiller and put him through all manner of idealistic posturing and cause-fighting. *Harmony* ends rather hurriedly, however, in an onrush of quotations. The texts from *Ueber die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* and *Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* are aptly chosen. But the change in style, as Schiller takes over the discussion, with only marginal comment from the author, indicates that Garland was either impatient with his theme or that he was determined to pack as many ideas into his limited space as possible.

In *The Poet* we are again confronted with fundamentals and this is another successful section. Garland is here obviously conscious of Schiller in the theatre. One could argue about the terminologies: in discussing Schiller's power of silence, for example, Garland cites the catafalque tableau in *Die Braut von Messina*. The claim that Schiller conveys in an instant what might have taken pages of argument is very reasonable. Whether, however, it is a masterstroke of 'poetic imagination' is debatable. Some doubtless coarser-grained critics would maintain that it is a theatrical *tour de force*, a masterstroke certainly, but one of dramatic-visual imagination.

Garland's discussion of *Wallenstein* here is fragmentary but engaging. One wishes that he had continued this sampling of poetic felicities and dramatic ironies. But he breaks off in order to advance the poetic claims of Karl Moor's indictment of everything within sight when he discovers his father. This is a pity: the quotations are longer than the commentary and unfortunately they speak for themselves only too clearly. *Assertion* that this kind of thing matches the curse uttered by Faust is simply not enough. 'Dynamic power, impetuous rhythm and biblical richness' may on occasion convert a commonplace into rhetoric of quality. But Karl's words are just written out, left, as it were, on a placard, and the effect is faintly comic. There are better examples of Schiller's poetic prose than this.

The final vignette presents reflections drawn from contemplating the contrasting images of Schiller in Simanowicz' portrait and in Dannecker's bust. From this Garland proceeds to a polarity; between the 'official' Schiller and the 'unofficial' man whom his friends knew. The discussion is not deep but it has the valuable effect of humanizing Schiller. It gives us an excellent point of departure for a fresh approach to him: Schiller has suffered greatly from his own myth and its distortions. Garland sees him as 'Schiller without the poetic paroxysm, . . . kind, . . . yet vigorous and austere of thought'. Garland seems to indicate how in bringing Schiller down to earth one is really elevating him all the more.

Turning from Professor Garland's reflections to Professor Frey's symposium is like going from a comfortable drawing-room into a shiningly efficient factory. Not for Professor Frey the amiable reminiscence and the

reasonable generalisation. He marshals the big battalions for detailed reconnaissance of the field. And an impressive regiment he has assembled too: nine essays by some of the most noted figures in American Germanistic scholarship—Melitta Gerhard, Henry Hatfield, Hans Jaeger, Harold Jantz, F. W. Kaufmann, Helmut Rehder, Oskar Seidlin, Walter Silz and Hermann Weigand. Frey himself adds a bibliography of American Schiller literature. Four of the essays are in German, which seems a high proportion for a volume of *American studies*.

The academic apparatus is rather formidable and the initial impression is somewhat inhibiting, the more so as this volume, a mildly 'festive' publication, presents an unattractive and 'temporary' appearance. Having penetrated this *stacheldraht wider unberufene*, however, the rewards are considerable. Some of Frey's contributors are especially noted for the grace with which they veil interpretative skill. Weigand and Hatfield, for example, can always be relied on for this.

Each essay is a detailed study of a particular aspect of Schiller. The collection ranges, for example, from Melitta Gerhard's consideration of Wieland's influence on Schiller (notably in *Götter Griechenlands*) to Seidlin's ingenious consideration of the function of letters in Schiller's early plays; from Silz' admirably portrayed account of the chorus and choral function in Schiller to Jaeger's remarkably lucid exposé of Schiller's *Philosophie der Existenz*.

The result is a mosaic-like representation of Schiller. The totality is not an overall picture and this could scarcely have been the intention. But Schiller emerges as a finely portrayed figure of great complexity. This in itself is a useful step towards a new picture of Schiller which, while not ignoring the Schillerbilder of past generations, is also not borne down by them. All these essays, however different in style and viewpoint, have this much in common: they are notably free from the kind of *ex cathedra* adulation which can make a memorial volume vapid and ephemeral.

It would be difficult to single out particular essays. There is one offering, however, which is unusually piquant for a volume of this kind. It is in fact downright entertaining. This is Harold Jantz' *Schiller's Indian Threnody: A Problem in the Aesthetics of the Classical Age*. To appreciate this one does not need (*pace* Goethe, incidentally, on whose approval Jantz leans fairly heavily) to hold the *Nadowessiers Totenlied* (1798) in quite such high regard as Jantz seems to do. He has gone to work in best Baker Street fashion. He has delved into Jonathan Carver's *Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768*; he has gone even further back, to Baron Lahontan's *New Voyages to North-America* (1703). Jantz seems in fact to be as much an enthusiast for Carver as he is for Schiller. He gives us Lahontan's description of the Nadowessians' obsequies; Carver's composite record; Schiller's poem; and some additional passages from Carver which could have served Schiller in the working out of his detail. It is a fascinating account and one dwells pleasurably on the idea of a poetic lifeline running from Karl August's Weimar to the headwaters of the Mississippi. One may not perhaps take Jantz' philosophical conclusions too much to heart; 'eighteenth century philosophical syncretistic generalities' are as much out of place in an essay of this kind as they are (so Jantz tells us) in Schiller's *Totenlied*. On the other hand a vote of thanks is due to Humboldt whose youthful superiority about Schiller's new excursus seems to have spurred Jantz to undertake its redemption. This should not be missed.

Professor Frey's bibliography will be of lasting value, and his guide to

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articles in journals, some of them little known at this distance, must be particularly useful. But the annexation of Professor Triebel (p. 212) seems to be an act of unprovoked cultural aggression, and it is something of a shock to find two entries under the name of Thomas Mann: legalistically defensible of course—but it offers fascinating possibilities. Zuckmayer, as a sturdy farmer from Vermont, might expect to find his *Ein Weg zu Schiller* included. But it evidently came out a few months too late . . .

To sum up: we should be grateful to Professor Frey for assembling his varied, readable (for the greater part at last) and even controversial team of experts. The fact that Schiller can without sense of strain in author or reader call forth such a plethora of enthusiasms and viewpoints is probably the greatest tribute to him of all—other than regular performance of his plays!

The two books discussed here reveal interesting contrasts in approach. A German reviewer wrote recently of the 'Unbefangenheit und sachliche Präzision eines Angelsachsen'. There is probably a good deal in this: the Americans certainly demonstrate the 'sachliche Präzision' even if on occasion one does feel that the learned mind is determinedly putting all its stock into the window at once. Garland carries his armour and ammunition very lightly. This is partly due to his very different task here. His undoubted 'Unbefangenheit'—which could only have sprung from great familiarity with Schiller—is the expression of a mind which clearly loves what it knows and is not at all concerned to show too much of the academic mechanics. All in all these two books demonstrate that there is plenty of room for both branches of the 'Anglo-Saxon' approach.

University of New England

BRIAN COGHLAN

THE EMERGENCE OF GERMAN AS A LITERARY LANGUAGE.
E. A. Blackall. Cambridge University Press, 1959, pp. 539.

IN the year 1689 Christian Thomasius offered a treatise on logic, written in German, to the Leipzig censor. The *imprimatur* was refused on the grounds that 'no work could be considered by the censorship in which philosophical matters were treated in the German language.' Barbarous, inexpressive and bespattered with foreign words, German—whether spoken or written—was despised by polite society. The language had been driven, by political, social and literary events, into a *cul-de-sac*, and the only acceptable languages in good society were French and, in some circumstances, Latin. But 60 years later Goethe was born, and German soon took its place amongst the great literary languages in Europe.

The metamorphosis of German in these years is one of the most discussed linguistic phenomena of modern German literature. E. A. Blackall is however the first English-speaking scholar to treat this intricate subject in its entirety. His book deserves a warm welcome. It is a work of considerable erudition, basically sound in method, readable and thoroughly convincing. Its method should silence even the sharpest critics of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, such as Friedrich Sengle, who tells us that 'in den angelsächsischen Ländern das Problem der literarischen Wertung mit einer erstaunlichen und manchmal erschreckenden Unbefangenheit angepackt wird' (*Akzente*, 1/1955). Perhaps it is not accidental that Sengle himself is the recipient of more than one telling thrust from Blackall in Chapter XII.

Eighteenth century studies have, for a long time, been lumbered up with

a lot of dead critical wood. Much of it has been now removed, for good and all, by the razor-edge of Blackall's scholarship. Those who believe that 'good German prose begins with Lessing' are put firmly in their place in Chapter XI. Gottsched, a punching-ball of students and critics for nearly 200 years, is proved to have made most important, positive contributions to the development of German prose. The author likewise disproves the superficial assumption that the culture of feeling was a reaction against (or countercurrent to) the culture of reason. Both are shown to be different aspects of a simultaneous movement towards sophistication in a literature sorely in need of it.

One of the many virtues of the book is the reliability of its copious footnotes, which refer the reader often to little-known manuscripts, editions and critical works, and also fill in occasional gaps in the author's arguments. This does not mean that Blackall has an effective answer to every problem. Was—for example—Wieland's style quite as 'harmonious' as the author vehemently claims? Readers might have welcomed, in substantiation, an even more detailed analysis of the poet's style. But if there are still some unanswered questions, they are not sufficiently serious to detract from the overall worth of this most perceptive and absorbing work. One of its special achievements is the effectiveness with which it proves Herder's dictum (quoted by Blackall on p. 1): 'Der Genius der Sprache ist also der Genius von der Litteratur einer Nation. . . . Ihr könnt also die Litteratur eines Volkes ohne ihre Sprache nicht übersehen.'

University of Auckland

J. A. ASHER

HEINRICH VON KLEIST. *Geschichte meiner Seele. Ideenmagazin. Das Lebenszeugnis der Briefe.* Ed. by Helmut Sembdner. *Schünemann, Bremen*, 1959, pp. xviii & 437. (Sammlung Dietrich, Nr. 233).

THIS is a companion volume to the same editor's *Lebensspuren* which was reviewed in this journal, vol. 8, p. 58. Whereas *Lebensspuren* presented Kleist's life, character and the reception of his works through the eyes of contemporaries, this volume does the same through Kleist's own testimony. The subtitle refers to two works of Kleist's which have been lost: 'The history of his soul' which noted down his intellectual development up to the crisis Kant's philosophy wrought in him in March 1801; the 'store of ideas' which he collected in fragmentary form in the years 1800 to 1802 if not longer.

Dr Sembdner tries to reconstruct these works from the preserved letters and other autobiographical documents. The special value of this volume is two-fold. Kleist is noted for repeating ideas and phrases in letters as well as his works. All these passages are underlined in this volume and cross-references are given at the bottom of each page, showing where the same notions or images are to be found elsewhere either in letters or in the works. The second important feature is that Dr Sembdner was able to date or re-date a number of letters, so that we have in this edition a reliable chronological sequence of Kleist's communications with other people for the first time. The short introduction gives a compressed description of Kleist's style as a letter writer (which underwent a number of changes) and the annotations at the end of the volume as well as an extensive index of persons inform the reader of the essentials necessary to understand difficult points in the material presented. Although a few letters

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are left out and not all the letters included in the collection are given in full, the essentials are preserved and a concise picture of the tragic course of Kleist's life unfolds before our eyes. The two volumes together are an indispensable aid to any scholar interested in Kleist; for the informed reader they constitute a tragic novel.

University of Melbourne

RICHARD SAMUEL

BERLINER ABENDBLAETTER, herausgegeben von Heinrich von Kleist. Nachwort und Quellenregister von Helmut Sembdner. *Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt*, 1959, pp. 626 + 34.

THE *Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft*, an academic book club in Western Germany which has published scholarly and scientific works on a large scale since its inception in 1953, has promised photo-mechanical reprints of important periodicals of the Classical and Romantic periods of German Literature which will be very useful for research. Kleist's *Berliner Abendblätter* are the first to appear. Only one complete original copy is extant; it was in the library of Jacob Grimm. This daily "newspaper", the first of its kind, printed on cheap paper in small format and at a very low price as it was meant for mass distribution, was Kleist's last journalistic enterprise. He had to abandon it because of the interference of the Prussian censorship and of the Prime Minister, Count Hardenberg, although Kleist's management of affairs was also imprudent. His financial ruin and failure contributed to the final catastrophe of Kleist's suicide in October 1811.

The *Abendblätter* appeared in 153 issues from 1 October 1810 to 30 March 1811. Much research has gone into establishing not only Kleist's own contributions and the identity of his collaborators but also the sources of many articles which were lifted from other journals. Only two contributions are signed with a full name, a few with initials, the large majority with *chiffres*. Dr Sembdner in his book *Die Berliner Abendblätter Heinrich von Kleists, ihre Quellen und ihre Redaktion* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1939) did most of the spade-work and was the best possible choice for editing this volume. His post-script sums up the importance and history of this strange journalistic feat, and points out once more how wrong and biased was Reinhold Steig's once much acclaimed book *H. v. Kleist's Berliner Kämpfe* (Berlin, 1901), the standard work before Sembdner's own inquiries. The sum total of the results of Dr Sembdner's research, which he continued also after the publication of his book in 1939, is embodied in the lists at the end of this reprint. There is first a comprehensive bibliography, then follows a scrutiny of every issue with regard to authorship and source of each contribution, further an alphabetical list of 59 authors and their contributions (only 10 of several hundred contributions remain unidentified), and finally a list of 32 journals which provided Kleist with material. Of Kleist himself Dr Sembdner has established 79 original contributions (among them the celebrated essay *Ueber das Marionettentheater*) and a number of translations and pieces revised in his characteristic manner and style.

Schiller's *Horen*, *Das Athenäum* edited by Friedrich Schlegel, and *Phöbus* edited by Adam Müller and H. v. Kleist will be eagerly expected after the excellent arrangement of *Die Berliner Abendblätter*.

University of Melbourne

RICHARD SAMUEL

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DIE HOREN. Eine Monatsschrift hg. von Schiller. 1795-1797. 12 vols. in 6, pp. 4070.—Einführung und Kommentar by Paul Raabe. pp. 126. *Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft*, Darmstadt 1959.

THE second of the series of photo-mechanical reproductions of important periodicals in the age of Goethe followed upon the first (v. above *Die Berliner Abendblätter*) sooner than expected. It is all the more welcome. The *Horen*, the second of Schiller's journalistic enterprises (after *Thalia*, 1785-1793) was the mouthpiece of the neo-classical movement ushered in by the newly established friendship between Goethe and Schiller. In the midst of the wars of the French revolution Schiller set himself the lofty aim of promoting 'true humanity' and of 'reuniting a world divided by political dissensions under the banner of Truth and Beauty' as he proclaimed in his celebrated preface which became the manifesto of the new aesthetic creed. Regarding the title he tells us that the *Horae* received the newly born Venus at her first appearance in Cyprus, clothed her in divine garb and led her into the circle of the immortals. 'A charming legend', he says, 'which indicates that Beauty has to submit to rules at birth and can attain immortality and moral values and become worthy of a place at Mount Olympus only by fitting in with the cosmic order of things'.

We find in these volumes many of the valuable works of Goethe's and Schiller's middle-period, in the form in which they were presented to the public for the first time; to mention only a few: Schiller's aesthetic essays, some of his historical writings and a number of his metaphysical poems, Goethe's cycle of *Novellen*, *Die Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten* including the symbolic *Märchen*; his startling essay on Literary Sansculotism, holding up a mirror to his German contemporaries; his equally startling Roman Elegies, his translation of Benvenuto Cellini's autobiography. Besides the Olympians of Weimar we find contributions by Herder, Fichte, and Wilhelm von Humboldt, but also by members of a younger generation such as Friedrich Hölderlin (2 Odes) and by A. W. Schlegel, among whose weighty essays the one on Shakespeare in connection with Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* stands out; we also find here the first samples of Schlegel's translations of Shakespeare's dramas, passages from *Romeo and Juliet*, *Julius Caesar* and *The Tempest*. The first volume of a novel *Agnes von Lilien* appears anonymously in instalments: at the time it set the German intellectual world, but also Mme. de Stael, guessing as to its authorship, some guessing at Goethe, some at Schiller, whereas it was Schiller's sister-in-law, Caroline von Wolzogen, who wrote it.

Paul Raabe's commentary is a work of solid scholarship. It gives a history of the journal and reprints Schiller's contract with the publisher Cotta (dated 28 May 1794) and Schiller's invitation to various prospective contributors, with further passages from Schiller's correspondence pertaining to the enterprise. The actual commentary lists every individual contribution, informs us about its origin and relevant sources and establishes its authorship successfully except in one case (for almost all contributions appeared anonymously). The contributors themselves are finally listed alphabetically with information about their life, profession and the place of their contributions.

These reprints page by page in their original form are invaluable for teaching purposes as well as for research. Even in their country of origin they are difficult to find in libraries; thus the reprint of the *Horen* is taken from one of the few surviving full copies, from the one found in Cotta's personal library and now in the possession of the Schiller-National-

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Museum in Marbach. The volumes are beautifully bound in blue satin covers and it is a happy thought that they can now be studied by students in the remotest countries of the world.

University of Melbourne

RICHARD SAMUEL.

DE KRONIEK VAN P. L. TAK. Brandpunt van Nederlandse cultuur in de jaren negentig van de vorige eeuw. Walter Thys, *Gent, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1955, pp. 361.

FOR some time we have been well informed about the part that journals such as *De Gids* and *De Nieuwe Gids* played in the development of Dutch literature. But there were also other journals which have not yet been given the attention they deserve. One of those was *De Kroniek*, a weekly published from 1895 until 1907. This gap has now been filled by Dr Walter Thys, who made *De Kroniek* the subject of a very informative study.

Dr Thys firstly deals with the circumstances that led to the foundation of the new journal, and gives a full profile of its remarkable editor, P. L. Tak, and conciser ones of regular contributors like André Jolles, Jan Veth, Jan Kalf, Frans Coenen and J. K. Ankersmit. *De Kroniek* was not primarily a literary journal, and in separate chapters Dr Thys discusses its activities in the fields of art, theatre, literature and politics. What makes this book particularly valuable is the fact that Dr Thys never sees his subject in isolation, but that he constantly places it in its context, i.e. cultural life in the Netherlands during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century.

As the sub-title of his book shows, Dr Thys regards *De Kroniek* as a 'focal point of Dutch culture in the nineties', a claim which he succeeds well in supporting. He uses Holbrook Jackson's definition to characterize this period: 'the renaissance of the nineties was far more concerned with art for the sake of life than with art for the sake of art.' Sweeping as it may be, this definition goes some way towards marking off the 1890's from the 1880's, also in the Netherlands. The majority of the regular contributors to *De Kroniek* subscribed to this 'art for the sake of life', and from the beginning there had been a pronounced influence of William Morris and of 'Arts and Crafts'. But not all contributors were *engagés* in this sense, and in the second volume of the journal (1896) one finds a long debate about the relation between Life and Art (with capital letters). Dr Thys describes this as the highlight of the journal, and sums it up as a duel between mysticism and socialism. He also links it up with a similar debate in *De Nieuwe Gids*, a few years before. Although strong language was used at times, and although the discussion in the later stages became rather personal, it proved to be not as explosive as it had been in the case of *De Nieuwe Gids*, for *De Kroniek* survived it whereas *De Nieuwe Gids* had been virtually killed by it. That, one could say, was another difference between the 1890's and the 1880's. Also the accent had shifted: the controversy was now not about socialism against artistic isolation, but about the way in which 'art for the community' would develop. Would it go in the direction of socialism, or in the direction of mysticism? To one who has not read the actual polemics in *De Kroniek* it does not become entirely clear what was meant by 'mysticism', and I would have liked Dr Thys to be more elaborate in this chapter, particularly as he regards this debate as a most important contribution to Dutch thought in that period. But, says Dr Thys in his conclusion, the book had to give a synthesis

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before a complete analysis could be made. Accepting this, one can only congratulate him on his—very readable—result.

University of Melbourne

R. P. MEIJER

GIL VICENTE: TRAGICOMEDIA DE AMADIS DE GAULA. Edited with Introduction and Notes by T. P. Waldron. (Spanish Texts) Manchester University Press, 1959, pp. 111.

ONE half of this small volume is taken up by the Introduction, which in fact affords a fine introduction to the works of a poetic playwright of independence and originality, besides an especially interesting study of the work edited. This study in particular, giving a new interpretation and a new importance to the play, is worthy of greater prominence, though it does not seem to have been published elsewhere.

Gil Vicente, as we are told here, was attached to the Portuguese royal court in the early part of the 16th century, and wrote dramatic works in Portuguese, Spanish, or a mixture of both. *Amadís* is in Spanish, with only the occasional stage direction in Portuguese. So a minor criticism might be directed against the editor (and perhaps the general editor of 'Spanish Texts'); for it is only indirectly indicated in the latter part of the Introduction that Vicente was actually Portuguese. The apparent assumption that all readers will be familiar with this name is not entirely warranted, nor is it consistent with the editor's precaution of including in the notes English translations of the Portuguese rubrics. Both the nationality and the period of the author might even have appeared on the title-page.

The editor favours the general tendency to identify the playwright Gil Vicente with the contemporary court goldsmith of the same name. In any case he shows him to have been an ingenious deviser of stage entertainments for religious feasts and other celebrations. As little Portuguese literature had been written before him, and there were no professional dramatists, his only early models were rudimentary Spanish *églogas*, farcical religious parodies, and court mummeries. So he began as an improviser—whence much of the freshness of his plays—and to a large extent remained so to the end of his career, proving himself 'an innovator of remarkable scope and inventiveness', relying primarily on his own natural gifts: 'keen observation, satirical wit, dramatic instinct, a fine poetic sensibility, and an inexhaustible imagination.'

Nearly all of Vicente's *autos* ('acts') were written for specific occasions, and they vary enormously in content, structure and technique. So it is only by compromise, Mr Waldron points out, that they can be classified even in five main groups: early plays in rustic style, moralities, farces, allegorical fantasies, and romantic comedies; both religious and secular subjects, or symbolism and realism being found within one group or another. Moreover, after 1520, Vicente turned more and more to the diffuse dramatic fantasy containing all the types of elements at his disposal, from allegory and mythological episodes to social satire and farce. So it is impossible to trace any clear lines of development in his work.

A chapter of the Introduction is devoted to the four works that can be called romantic comedies, including *Amadís de Gaula*, a more accomplished play based on episodes from a Spanish romance of chivalry in prose with the same title, but still lacking any systematic division into acts, owing to Vicente's one conservative trait: his persistence with the mediaeval multiple stage. This play treats the hero's wooing of Oriana, daughter of

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king Lisuarte of England, with an eventual happy evening after a misunderstanding over the help given by Amadís to Briolanja of Sobradisa, fostered by the mischief of the former's dwarf servant.

Mr Waldron shows in his following chapters that the ironic distortion of characters, action and language makes *Amadís* not a bad play, as had previously been thought, but a deliberate parody of the romantic hero, and ideal love, and the preciousness of *cancionero* poets, which had been in vogue for some years.

The editorial procedure is for the most part a reasonable compromise between fidelity and the desire to present a readable work: the reproduction of the oldest text, with limited modernisation and the elimination of Portuguese spellings except where these may be phonetically significant. However, I have doubts about the practice of simplifying 'unnecessary consonantal duplications (*offendi* etc.).' These, which are important etymologically, could have been retained without affording undue difficulty even to a Spanish reader knowing nothing but modern Spanish.

I would raise stronger objections to some remarks in one of the notes to the text (l. 455). It is true that there is a tendency to pronounce *pre-* for *per-* in Portuguese today; but this is in fact limited to the less educated. Likewise, though one may meet *preguntar* written, it is not recognised as an alternative for *perguntar* by any dictionary at my disposal. The notes claim that the former is adopted as the official spelling by the *acordo ortográfico* of 1945 with Brazil. Although I am not in a position to refer to the document itself, personal experience and the fact that one dictionary was published in 1947, give me every reason to believe this assertion a mistake.

There are thirteen pages of notes on the text; and an index to these rounds off an entirely readable edition with a notable contribution to Hispanic studies.

Victoria University of Wellington

B. W. ELLIS

STUDIES IN RUSSIAN FORMS AND USES—THE PRESENT GERUND AND ACTIVE PARTICIPLE. W. A. Morison, London, *Faber & Faber*, 1959, pp. 75.

DR MORISON'S new book on the formation and use of the Present Gerund and the Present Participle Active in Russian is greatly to be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the study of a much neglected subject, on which most current grammars give inadequate or incomplete information. Even educated native speakers of the language will hesitate when asked to explain the various uses of these forms. And as the use of these forms and of some of the other participles has been changing within the past century and a half, it is possible to observe certain inconsistencies in the usage of the later classical and modern writers.

This book is primarily intended as a guide for advanced university and other students of the language, but the scholar and linguist, even if he has native Russian, will gain much from a study of these pages. Dr Morison's masterly penetration of the meaning of many loose and elliptic colloquial expressions will be of great value to the professional translator, for Dr Morison shows himself to be a master of English as well as Russian. His wide Slavonic background also enables him to appreciate subtleties of form

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and meaning which are due to the all-pervading influence of Church Slavonic on modern literary Russian.

The book is admirably produced and printed in a large bold type which makes reading a pleasure. But, like Dr Morison's previous work produced by the same publishers, its system of numeration of paragraphs and examples makes back reference a laborious and chancy process. The Contents index does not give sufficient guidance as to where a particular section or example, referred to in the text, may be found. The Index could have been fuller, and the scholar will miss a bibliography of the subject and also a complete list of the sources of Dr Morison's 188 examples, some of which are quite tantalizing in suggesting the need for knowing the context before one can pass judgement on them and on Dr Morison's interpretations.

Scholars will certainly disagree with some of the forms and lack of forms enumerated on pp. 17-19: *pórti* (or *port'*?). *khokhochá* (stress?); while *jedjá* and *rěža* (at least) are quite normally used present gerunds of *jest'* and *rezať*. The explanation on p.23 of the use of the Genitive or the Accusative after a verb with the negative also strikes one as an over-simplification of a subtle stylistic point. Dr Morison has not taken into account a detailed article on the subject by Z. A. Uglitzky published in the *Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. XXXIV, No. 83 (June, 1956). Nominal phrases of the type: *ja oficer* (p.25), also need not be regarded as cases of 'omission' except from the point of view of western European languages, as they are felt as being quite complete by a native speaker. Nor is 'tut' really particularly colloquial any more in modern Russian (unlike *tady* > < *zde* in Czech!)—see p.31. The form *vozvráščajas'*, on p.43, surely means 'on returning', as one would say this in English; the sequence in time of the actions of the verbs in the examples is unimportant and need not be expressed grammatically with a past gerund (as also in example S 100). *Svojeĭ* in S 123 is also misinterpreted in the subsequent note, as will be seen if the suggested 'drill' of forming the relative clause in substitution is carried out. And why should not a *body* swim (p.63)? And on p.67 *kotoraja jest'* would be better in example S 177.

But these are small, if not unimportant, points compared with the host of valuable information and guidance the reader will find on every page, as, for instance, the explanation of the use of tenses in 'reported speech', on p.50. Could one not also add there that the influence of West European languages is now less strong on Russian than it was up to the first world war?

We very much look forward to Dr Morison's publishing a similar work on the Past Gerunds and Participles, in which he will explain why he regards the form *obeščannoĭ* as Perfective and also the use of the past active participle for the present participle active, referred to on p.71. In S178 on p.67 he gives a very interesting example of a possible future development in the language (a way of forming a future participle). In this dense *virgin* forest (*dremuchij les*) with its many thorny points (*koljuchka*, p.69) Dr Morison has been a sure and interesting guide and must be warmly thanked. We eagerly await his next excursion.

University of Melbourne

R. G. A. de BRAY

JOSEPHUS: THE JEWISH WAR. A new translation by G. A. Williamson. *Penguin Classics*, 1959.

THE publication of this new version of the *Jewish War* is well-timed. It should provide the general public with a useful background to the recent

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dramatic finds of the 'Dead Sea Scrolls', especially those of the Qumran community which, according to the archaeological evidence, perished in the course of that war.

G. A. Williamson has produced a lively and highly readable version of Josephus' work, such as we have come to expect of *Penguin Classics*. The translation is interesting from a technical point of view, in that it introduces a new translator's 'gimmick'. Previous *Penguin* translators have accustomed us to the use of the footnote—the displacement of bits of the text to the foot of the page. Williamson has gone one better by taking out chunks of text and printing them as 'Excursuses' at the back of the book. The purpose of this rearrangement is to preserve the continuity of the narrative. Some of the decisions, however, seem open to question. Excursus I, the famous passage on the Essenes and other Jewish sects (B.J. ii, 119 ff.), is needed in the main text as background to what was, after all, basically a religious war. Excursus II (iii, 35 ff.), the account of the geography of Judaea and its environs, and Excursus III (iii, 70 ff.) on the organization of the Roman army, contain material of some importance for the understanding of the subsequent campaigns. Excursus VI (v, 136 ff.), the long and detailed topographical description of Jerusalem, is a quite indispensable introduction to the account of the Siege, and likewise Excursus VIII (vii, 280 ff.) on the defences of Masada properly belongs with the narrative of its siege. The other four Excursuses are genuine digressions (IV = B.J. iii, 506 ff., Lake Gennesareth; V = iv, 452 ff., Jordan Valley and Dead Sea; VII = vii, 171 ff., Machaerus; IX = vii, 422 ff., Temple at Onias). But one wonders whether the device is really necessary or helpful. Is skipping now assumed to be a lost art?

The book has been made very unserviceable for reference purposes by the failure to print the numeration of the sections in the Greek text, which could surely have been set at the top of the page as in some other *Penguin* translations. On p. 409, however, is shown a correlation of Williamson's 23 chapters with the 7 books and 110 chapters as found in the old, standard version by Whiston. It may be useful to add to this that Book iv, which begins in the middle of Williamson's chapter 13, starts at p. 213.

In an Appendix are printed paraphrases of a few selected passages from the Slavonic Version, containing material additional to, or discrepant from, the Greek text. The seven passages chosen are those apparently referring to John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and the Early Christians. Williamson is rather disdainful of those scholars who have detected Christian interpolations in these passages, and prints in clear some matter that is usually bracketed as spurious. His hypothesis that our Greek text, expurgated of Christian references, is a revised edition published under Domitian requires more support than he is able to give it.

Regrettably, the book is not furnished with an index, but the end-papers include a list of dates, a useful partial stemma of the Herodian family, maps of Palestine in the first century A.D. and Jerusalem in 70 A.D., and a diagram of Herod's Temple.

The translation itself is reasonably accurate, the style plain modern English. Williamson is rather enamoured of the cliché ('blissfully ignorant'—*ἡγνόουν* ; 'a right royal welcome'—*δεχθεῖς . . . φιλοφρόνως*). His occasional use of colloquialisms has an enlivening effect ('sent packing with a flea in their ear'—*μεθ' ὑβρεως ἀπήλασεν*), but usually jars by not being in keeping with the general style. *Gaffes* like 'where is that perishing (*ἀλutrήριος*) son-in-law of mine?' illustrate the dangers of this kind of translation.

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A curious policy has been adopted in the rendering of Josephus' dating by the day of the Macedonian month. Thus, the third of Apellaios becomes 'the 3rd December' (p. 262), although the Macedonian months do not run with the Roman; since this particular date in 69 A.D. is known from other sources, Williamson is reduced to the absurdity of admitting in a footnote that the correct date is 21 December.

There are one or two mistakes which seem to be due to inadequate knowledge of the Roman background. Thus, p. 130 f., *εὐπατρίδαι* should be rendered as 'nobles' rather than 'patricians'; p. 133, 'Numidius Quadratus' is Ummidius Quadratus, legate of Syria; p. 259, *τῆς ἐγγυὸς στρατηγίας* is not 'his [Vespasian's] conduct of the campaign in Africa,' but in Judaea; p. 322, 'Aeternius Fronto, tribune in charge of the two legions from Alexandria' is Fronto Haterius, prefect (etc.); p. 357, Flavius Silva was not 'the new procurator', but the new legate, Judaea still being a military province.

By some oversight *B.J.* i, 502-3 and vi, 441 have been omitted from the translation (pp. 89 and 338).

In general, this version will supersede its predecessors for those who want an entertaining account of what Josephus has to tell. But for a careful representation of the original one must continue to rely on the *Loeb* edition by H. St. J. Thackeray, and its publishers would do well to take the hint to reprint it.

University of Canterbury

G. V. SUMNER

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